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COVER: Field workers in the Warm Springs Vineyard in Alameda County transferred grapes to a crude conveyor belt for transportation to the winery. In the mid-nineteenth century, cultivating the vine and making wine emerged as one of California's dominant agricultural pursuits. The roster of families in the wine business since its earliest days whose descendants still farm the land and crush the grapes—and own and control their business—is small. For the story of these remarkable wine pioneer families, see the article beginning on page 139.

California Historical Quarterly

VOLUME LIV SUMMER 1975 NO. 2

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Mounted first on bicycles, Berkeley's police department became the first full motorized force in the country. Photographed in the 1920's, the officers exude a serious calm befitting their newly attained reputation of excellence. Under the innovative leadership of August Vollmer, the department set standards of pioneering professionalism for several decades to come. Berkeley Police Department.

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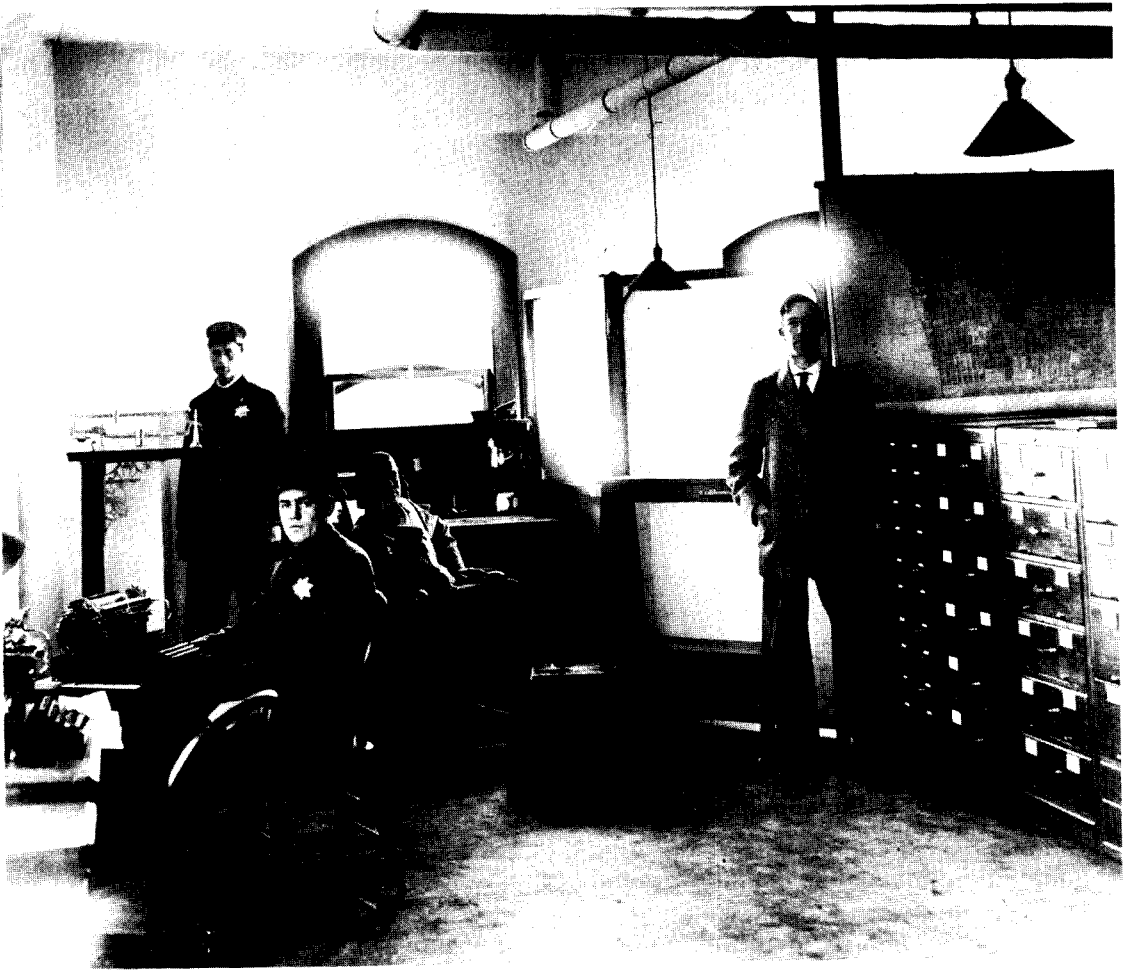
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Soon after the police department gained official quarters in the basement of the new city hall, Vollmer established a system for keeping records on criminals. Vollmer (standing at right) urged that systematic records were essential to scientific criminal investigation and identification.

August Vollmer, Berkeley's First Chief of Police, and the Emergence of Police Professionalism

NATHAN DOUTHIT

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ALTHOUGH THE HISTORY OF POLICING in the United States has only begun to be written, it is certain that when historians set out to explore the development of police professionalism, one of the most important figures will be the man who served as the head of the police department in Berkeley, California, for over a quarter of a century—August Vollmer. Between 1905 and 1932, Vollmer played a major role in making Berkeley and the state of California leaders in police innovation. He turned the Berkeley police department into a unique model of professionalism known and respected by police officials throughout the country. His career throws light on the aspirations and dilemmas of police professionalism in its formative years.

Vollmer's career also offers an historical perspective from which to consider the dilemmas of policing in our own day. The question of whether "changing the police" is an "impossible dream," a subject recently raised by a well-known police educator, needs historical perspective.¹ Some critics of the police have suggested that the principles and values of police professionalism are at the root of the contemporary problems of policing.² Whether or not this is true, it is worth considering whether police professionalism today is a fulfillment of the aspirations of the early crusaders for police professionalism or a departure from their goals.

August Vollmer's family moved to San Francisco from New Orleans in 1888, then crossed over the bay to take up residence in Berkeley three years later.³ In 1895, at the age of nineteen, Vollmer and a friend opened a coal and feed store. The following year he helped to organize a volunteer fire department for North Berkeley. When war with Spain broke out two years later, Vollmer enlisted in the Army, and he later saw action against the guerrilla forces of Aguinaldo in the Philippines as the United States tried to consolidate its control over the native population after having defeated the Spanish forces.

Vollmer returned from the Philippines with a distinguished combat record which made him something of a hero in the small town of Berkeley.⁴ For four years after his return, he worked as a mail carrier, but his war record, athletic

ability, and leadership qualities had not been forgotten.⁵ In January, 1905, the editor of the *Berkeley Daily Gazette* called Vollmer to his office and suggested that he run for election as town marshal. Vollmer argued, but he soon received support from the incumbent mayor, fire chief, and local Republican party. They apparently viewed Vollmer as a man who could clean up vice in Berkeley.

A *Gazette* editorial supporting Vollmer's candidacy proclaimed that "Guss Vollmer is a man of mental acumen and sagacity, and his service in the Army has particularly fitted him for the job of hunting down and apprehending criminals. He is a man of great physical powers. He has the physical strength to cope with any criminal and besides he has the necessary grit and courage."⁶ It is an ironical recommendation for a man whose later reputation as a police official resulted from his application of intelligence rather than brawn to police work. Despite his youth and lack of law enforcement experience, Vollmer upset the incumbent and became town marshal on April 15, 1905.

When Vollmer first became a police official, law enforcement had suddenly become a major focus of Progressive reform interest. Large city police departments had become notorious for their corruption. One former police commissioner of New York City, William McAdoo, wrote of his entry into the position in 1904 that "it was with a heavy heart that I turned my face towards that antique and shabby palace, that sepulchre of reputations, that tomb of character, that morgue of political ambition, that cavern of intrigue and dissimulation—the Police Headquarters at Mulberry Street."⁷ Although the New York City police department may have manifested the problems of policing at the turn of the century in their most acute form, police departments in other cities also appeared to reform-minded observers to present a major challenge. Indeed, an editorial writer for *Harper's Weekly* had observed on the eve of the new century that "there is no doubt that the police problem is one of the most important with which we have to deal. There is not a satisfactory police force in the country."⁸

One measure of this concern was the interest shown by some of America's most prominent journalists, public administrators, and politicians, including Jacob Riis, Lincoln Steffens, Newton Baker, Jane Addams, Brand Whitlock, and Theodore Roosevelt.⁹ For many people in the Progressive Era the police symbolized the worst features of corrupt government, and hence the police attracted the attention of various reform groups. Some groups sought to put municipal government on a professional administrative basis; some worked to get the police to enforce laws against vice (gambling, prostitution, and illegal liquor sales); some were primarily interested in protecting citizens against illegal police practices (e.g., the "third-degree"); still others tried to eliminate the repressive approach of police to crime prevention. The concerns of police reformers were mixed and usually embraced several of these objectives.¹⁰

By the time Vollmer took office as town marshal, police officials themselves had responded to some of these reform concerns. In 1893, they had joined for the first time in a professional organization which by 1902 had acquired its present name, the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP).¹¹ The primary aim of the IACP in its early years was the creation of a national system for the exchange of information on criminals.¹² However, at their annual conventions the members of the IACP discussed a wide variety of work-related topics. These

discussions reflected the aspirations of reform-minded police chiefs to make police better trained and educated, better equipped, and better administered in order to improve the effectiveness of police departments in the detection and control of crime.¹³ But in 1905 the IACP represented a very weak influence for professionalism in policing. Politics rather than professional principles still dominated most police departments throughout the country.¹⁴

Thus Vollmer embarked upon his career in law enforcement at a time of growing public interest in the improvement of policing, but it would have been difficult to predict Vollmer's later influence from the circumstances of his new position. His entire command consisted of three deputies. Berkeley's population at the turn of the century was 13,214, and the town exuded a semi-rural atmosphere. By 1905, however, Berkeley's population had risen to about 20,000, and by 1910 it jumped to 40,434. The city's rapid growth had begun to outstrip its law enforcement services. Shortly after taking office Vollmer commented to the *Berkeley Reporter*: "We should have the best police department in the United States, especially when we consider . . . the class of people who make their homes here . . . the nearness of two large cities which harbor many criminals . . . that two trans-continental main-lines run through this town . . . the ease with which it is possible to hide here, and the many different routes that may be taken to leave after having committed a crime."¹⁵

Berkeley proved to be a good place for an innovative police leader to begin his work. In 1909 when Berkeley adopted a new charter providing a commission form of government, it received praise as the most progressive in the country.¹⁶ The city's reputation for good government continued in the decades that followed. In 1923, it adopted a city manager form of government; and in the late 1920's and early 1930's experts judged it to be either one of the best or the best governed of American cities.¹⁷

The twenty-nine-year-old Vollmer's first action as town marshal was to request an increase in his police force from three to twelve deputies so that he could have both a night and day patrol. In keeping with the reform concern that motivated his election, he moved aggressively against local gambling and opium establishments. His first raid failed—the gamblers had received advance notice—and Vollmer and his officers could not positively identify the individuals they arrested (they were Chinese) nor substantiate that the defendants had actually been gambling or using opium. In subsequent raids he gathered sufficient evidence to obtain convictions.¹⁸

Vollmer soon won national publicity for being the first chief to order his men to ride bicycles on their beats. He himself had first used a bicycle to get around the city faster, in the face of jokes by some local newspapers. Time checks he had run showed that bicycles would allow his men on bicycles to respond three times faster to calls than men on foot.¹⁹

While ruminating about the time lost communicating emergency calls to his men, Vollmer by chance read about a private detective in Los Angeles who had developed a signal system for a residential area. He visited Los Angeles and investigated the system. Returning to Berkeley, he tried to persuade the city council to finance a system of red lights hung at each street intersection. The city council balked at the \$25,000 cost, but at Vollmer's urging they went to the people with



In 1909 Vollmer sat for this portrait (left) in his new chief of police uniform after laying aside the town marshal badge and black western hat that comprised the uniform of his first four years in law enforcement. Vollmer was elected president of the California Chiefs of Police in 1907, an indication of his immediate reputation as a progressive leader in law enforcement.

One of Vollmer's first innovations was to install a red-light recall system. Officers had approximately three minutes to report in from the nearest box after the lights began to flash at an intersection.

The 1910's photo (right) shows the switchboard with its alarm buttons at police department headquarters in the basement of city hall. Automobiles were installed with radios in the 1920's, but the call box (below) remained in use.



a bond election to finance the new signal system. The voters approved it, and Berkeley acquired the first such signal system in the country.²⁰

As early as 1906 Vollmer became curious about the methods criminals used in committing their crimes. He began to question the criminals he arrested, and from his notes he compiled information on how different types of crimes were committed. He found that nearly every criminal had his own peculiar method of operation. With this knowledge, Vollmer sent out letters to other police chiefs requesting information on criminals who specialized in the kind of crimes that Vollmer and his deputies had been unable to solve. In one instance, several ministers' homes had been burglarized. A name and photograph from another police department matched an individual who was arrested by one of Vollmer's deputies a short while later.²¹ In this way Vollmer developed his own *modus operandi* file, modifying the older Atcherly system of classification.²²

In 1907, pursuant to an apparent suicide case that Vollmer suspected of being murder, Vollmer sought the advice of his friend Dr. Jacques Loeb, a professor of biology at the University of California. The "suicide" victim had been presumed



to have died from potassium cyanide, because he had been found clutching an empty bottle which contained traces of the poison. Loeb, however, observed that potassium cyanide relaxes the muscles of the body so that the victim would not have been able to hold onto the bottle. A Grand Jury nevertheless decided not to reopen the case because there were no photographs to substantiate that the bottle had actually been found in the victim's hand.²³

Although the Grand Jury's decision disappointed Vollmer, the incident convinced him of the value of scientific knowledge in criminal investigation and inspired him to embark on a program of self-education in various criminological subjects. Loeb recommended he read Hans Gross's book *Criminal Psychology*. This began Vollmer's education in then-current scientific theories of criminal behavior, and he proceeded to build for his first-hand knowledge a theoretical basis.²⁴

Although Vollmer showed an exceptional willingness to experiment with new ideas in his first three years of police work, his most daring innovation came in 1908. While it is an accepted idea today that a policeman ought to have training before he begins his work, in 1908 the idea of a "police school" was almost unknown in American policing. As late as 1917, when Vollmer and Albert Schneider, a professor of pharmacology and bacteriology in the college of pharmacy of the University of California, wrote about the Berkeley police school, they remarked: "A few years ago, the only requirement necessary for appointment as policeman was political pull and brute strength. . . . No preliminary training was necessary, and the officers were considered sufficiently equipped to perform their duties if they were armed with a revolver, club and handcuffs, and wore a regulation uniform."²⁵

The police school that Vollmer began in 1908 covered a wide variety of subjects relevant to police work. It was theoretical as well as practical. Vollmer drew upon the expertise of university professors as well as police officers like his friend

By 1915, Vollmer's command had grown from three deputies to the twenty-five stalwarts photographed here on the steps of Berkeley's city hall.



Walter Peterson, captain of inspectors in the Oakland police department. The school offered courses in police methods and procedures, fingerprinting, first aid, criminal law, anthropometry, photography, public health, and sanitation, as well as occasional lectures on related subjects in criminology, psychiatry, and anthropology.²⁶ In 1917, a revised curriculum outlined a tentative three-year course of study for men in the department: in the first year officers could take courses in physics, chemistry, biology, physiology, anatomy, criminology, anthropology and heredity, and toxicology. During the second year they could study criminological psychology, psychiatry, criminology (theoretical and applied), police organization and administration, and police methods and procedure. The third year of study encompassed microbiology and parasitology, police micro-analysis, public health, first aid to the injured, and elementary and criminal law.²⁷ Clearly, Vollmer intended to educate his officers to be criminologists as well as police officers. A comparison of this heavily theoretical approach to police education with the more practical offerings of most two-year programs in police science today evidences the daring of Vollmer's ideas on police education.

It was not always easy for Vollmer to persuade the city council to adopt his ideas. In later years, when one of Vollmer's former police officers ran into trouble trying to reorganize a small police department along professional lines, Vollmer wrote to him: "What you are suffering right now was endured by me when I first entered the police service. It was a constant battle and there never was an occasion in the first few years when I had any more than a bare majority of the Council. It was fight every day and fight every night."²⁸

Other innovations followed those of the early years. By 1914 Vollmer had his entire patrol force operating out of automobiles, the first totally mobile patrol force in the country. In 1916 Vollmer persuaded Dr. Albert Schneider, a professor of pharmacology and bacteriology, to become a full-time criminologist in charge of the department's crime investigation laboratory.²⁹ In 1918 he moved in two directions to improve the quality of personnel under his command. He began to hire college students as part-time police officers in order to obtain more intelligent and better educated officers. At the same time he had Dr. Jau Don Ball of the University of California, a physician and psychiatrist who had participated in testing men for entry into the Army during World War I, prepare a set of intelligence, psychiatric, and neurological tests by which to select applicants. On the basis of these tests Vollmer initially selected some fifteen out of the more than one hundred college students who applied for a position on the force.³⁰ Vollmer later commented that what "distinguishes the Berkeley police department from others is the fact that rigid entrance requirements were set up many years ago and have been strictly adhered to since that time."³¹ Vollmer was the first police chief to actively recruit police officers from among college students. Although the newspapers enjoyed caricaturing Vollmer's "college cops," the experiment succeeded beyond even Vollmer's expectations. Out of this group of "college cops" came some outstanding police leaders, including O. W. Wilson, who after many years as a police chief went on to become the first dean of the school of criminology at the University of California, Berkeley.

Vollmer later wrote of the period from 1916 to 1921 as the time when scientific investigation of crime began in the United States.

Captain C. [arence] D. Lee of the Department was then working with the handwriting classification scheme which later was published by Appletons [publishing company]. Dr. [Albert] Schneider [of the University of California] . . . established a laboratory at the police department in Berkeley to which all problems referable to the chemical and micro-analyst were assigned, and later, as a result of the work of the school and other activities, the so-called Lie Detector, also referred to as the Polygraph, was developed. Dr. [John A.] Larson, the inventor of this method, also produced at the department in that period the single fingerprint classification scheme which was published by Appletons. . . . Subsequently, while serving as Police Chief in Los Angeles [1923-1924], a scientific laboratory was established. . . . A Scientific Laboratory was also established in Detroit while I served that city as Police Consultant [1926]. . . . Briefly . . . as a result of the establishment of these three laboratories the idea of scientific laboratories has grown, and they are now [1930] to be found in other police departments of this country, including Rochester, St. Louis, and New Orleans.³²

In 1921, in addition to experimenting with the lie detector, Vollmer also worked on improving communications with his police officers on patrol. When it occurred to him that it should be possible to install radio sets in patrol cars, two of his officers installed a crystal set and earphones in a Model-T Ford touring car. This vehicle became the first radio car.³³

By 1921, then, Vollmer had developed a high reputation among police officials. From the beginning of his career he had been active in police organizations on the local, state, and national levels, and he served as president of the California Association of Chiefs of Police as early as 1908. In 1921 he was elected president of the national police organization, the International Association of Chiefs of Police.³⁴

As early as 1913, police officials from other parts of the country began to visit Berkeley.³⁵ In 1917 Vollmer was asked for the first time to conduct a survey of another police department, the force in San Diego. Raymond B. Fosdick, a respected authority on the police at the time, called attention to the exceptional record of crime control achieved by the Berkeley police department in his book *American Police Systems* (1920). Between 1908 and 1915, Berkeley's population increased by 73 per cent, but its criminal complaints rose by only 14 per cent and the value of stolen property actually decreased by 28 per cent in the same period. During these years only five men had been added to the police force. Fosdick credited the motorization of the Berkeley patrol force as the most important factor in the achievement of this record.³⁶

In 1923 Vollmer was approached by a delegation of citizens representing the Citizens' Anti-Crime Commission of Los Angeles. They came seeking Vollmer's help in the reorganization of a police department ridden by corruption and ineffectual in crime control. They offered Vollmer the position of Los Angeles police chief. Vollmer was reluctant to take the job, but after the mayor of Los Angeles sent another group to see him, and on the condition that he would leave his favored Berkeley for only a year, he accepted. Vollmer arrived in Los Angeles on August 4, 1923.³⁷

His assignment in Los Angeles was similar in nature but vastly different in scale to the one for which he was first elected as Berkeley's town marshal. Los Angeles reformers wanted the city and its police force cleaned up. Gambling and the illegal sale of liquor—Prohibition had been established—constituted the major problems. Granted a \$100,000 private fund, Vollmer hired ex-criminals to gather

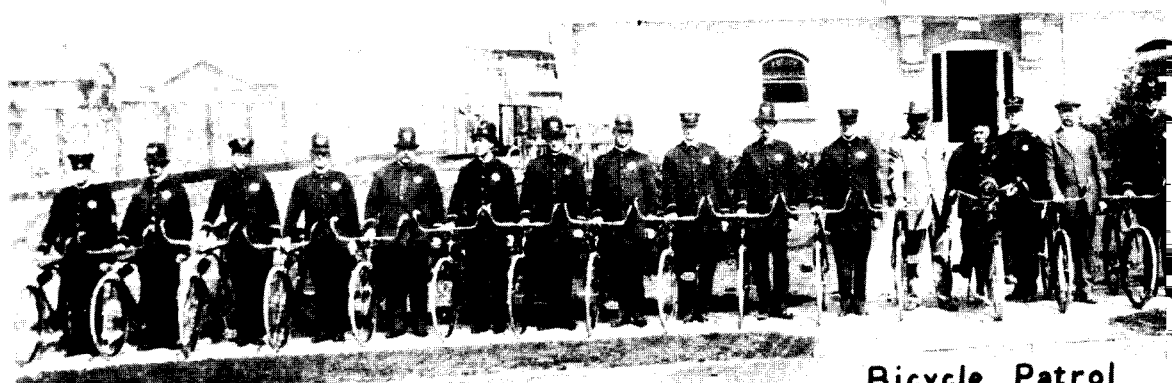
intelligence information on the criminal network in Los Angeles. He also appointed an honest and aggressive captain to head the vice division. On the basis of the information provided by his undercover agents, the vice division began its raids, and Vollmer started a *modus operandi* file.

Then he required all three thousand officers on the Los Angeles force to undergo the Army alpha-rating test for intelligence. Using the test scores, Vollmer re-assigned and promoted officers. This action made Vollmer as unpopular with most of the police force as he was with the gamblers and corrupt politicians. But he gained new respect within the department when his carefully thought-out plan for stopping a rash of bank robberies succeeded. He had assigned small details of officers to each of the banks in the city which had not yet been robbed, and with this deterrent bank robberies in Los Angeles soon declined.³⁸ When Vollmer returned to Berkeley in the summer of 1924 after a year in Los Angeles, he left behind many enemies both within and outside the force, and his reforms met with too much opposition to have a lasting effect. In fact it was not until the 1950's that the Los Angeles police department developed into a professionalized police system under Chief William H. Parker.³⁹

After his much-publicized stint in Los Angeles, Vollmer received many requests to help reorganize police departments in other cities. In the late 1920's he served as consultant to and wrote reports on the police departments of Detroit, Chicago, and Havana, Cuba. Then, in 1929, he was asked to serve as police consultant to the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement. This provided him with an opportunity to bring many of his ideas and experiences to bear on policing in the nation as a whole. In the fall of that same year he was appointed the first professor of police administration in the country at the University of Chicago. When he returned to Berkeley in 1931 he received a similar appointment at the University of California, a position which he held concurrently with the office of chief of police until his retirement in 1932. He continued to serve as a university professor until his retirement from that position in 1937.⁴⁰

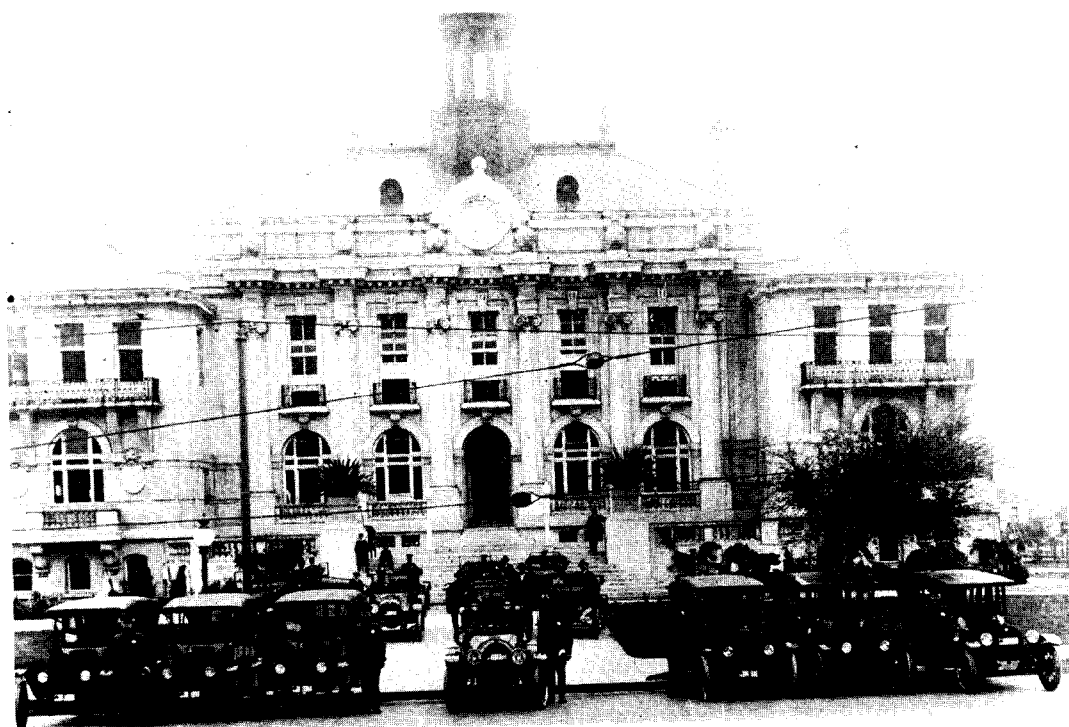
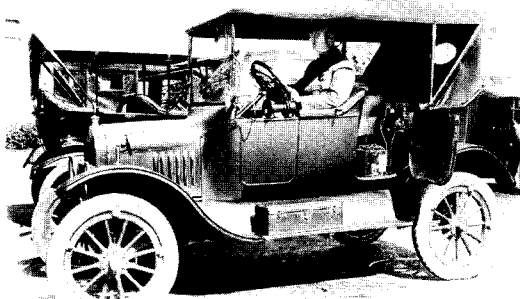
Vollmer's efforts in the 1920's and 1930's to make policing scientific and professional were part of a broader movement within policing during this period. Despite sustained police corruption and illegality in some cities, police ineffectiveness against professional and organized crime arising out of the conditions created by Prohibition, and police administrative inefficiency (revealed by numerous studies and reports of crime commissions), the 1920's and 1930's were viewed by criminologists, public administration experts, and police professionals alike as an era of unparalleled progress toward professionalism in policing.

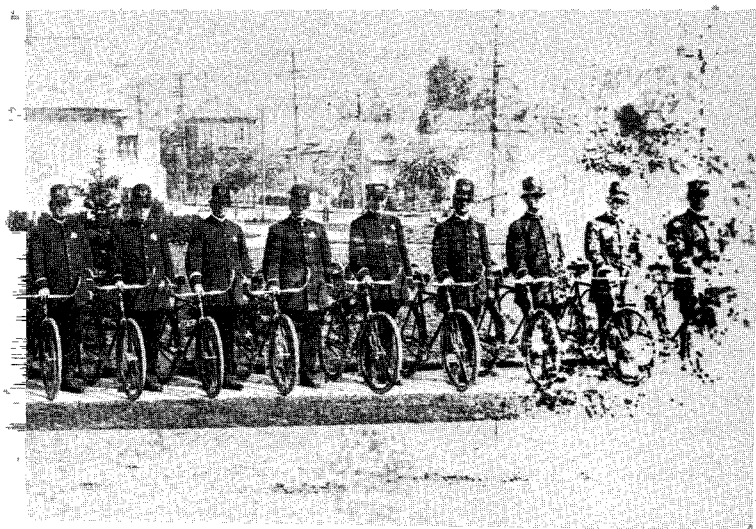
By 1933, a report on crime and punishment for the President's Research Committee on Social Trends by Edwin H. Sutherland and C. E. Gehlke could point to a long list of progressive developments in such areas as expansion of police services, criminal investigation and identification, police training, communications, transportation, administration, and the growth of professional police organizations.⁴¹ For a police professional like Vollmer, this first stock-taking of police progress since the turn of the century was tremendously encouraging. "In no other branch of government have such remarkable changes been made as those made in the field of police organization and administration during the last quarter of a century," Vollmer observed. He continued.



**Bicycle Patrol
1910-1912**

By the late 1920's Vollmer was hiring mounted policemen who purchased their own vehicles and were reimbursed for expenses. The mounted patrol posed (below) with their machines on the steps of city hall on Grove Street. As well, battery-powered radios were experimentally placed in the back seats of vehicles so that earphoned drivers such as Officer Jack Fisher (right) could respond immediately to radio instruction.





Recognizing the importance of speedy response to calls for assistance and to apprehension of criminals, Vollmer won national publicity for the force when he put them on bicycles (left). Motorcycles soon replaced the bicycles.

One can scarcely believe that such great advances could be made in so short a time. It is a far cry from the old politically-controlled police department to the modern, scientifically-operated organization. Under the old system, police officials were appointed through political affiliations and because of them. They were frequently unintelligent and untrained; they were distributed through the area to be policed according to a hit-or-miss system and without adequate means of communication; they had little or no record system; their investigation methods were obsolete; and they had no conception of the preventive possibilities of the service.⁴²

The enthusiasm over progress toward police professionalism in this period is perhaps best measured by the remarks of Edwin H. Sutherland in 1939. In the third edition of *Principles of Criminology*, Sutherland, who was by then an esteemed criminologist with no personal reason to inflate police accomplishments, wrote: "In no other part of the entire field of criminal justice or of municipal administration is as much enthusiasm shown in regard to the possibility of developing scientific and professional methods as in the police field."⁴³

Certainly, progress in policing in the 1920's and 1930's was measured primarily in terms of the objectives of crime control, and Vollmer's career in policing rested on his abilities as a police administrator capable of managing an efficient crime-fighting organization. But his reputation then, and his significance for police work today, also rests on his concern with the social dimensions of police work.

In 1919 Vollmer addressed the International Association of Chiefs of Police on the subject, "The Policeman As A Social Worker."⁴⁴ Anyone familiar with policing issues today can imagine how controversial this idea must have been in Vollmer's time.⁴⁵ In his paper, Vollmer urged police to develop crime prevention programs that would attack crime at its sources; specifically, he called for organized cooperation between police and other social agencies to reduce juvenile delinquency.

The attempt to develop a new role for police in the Progressive Era can be

traced to the ideas of a widely-known clergyman-author, Charles M. Sheldon, who proposed in 1913 that policemen should be Christian missionaries and social workers.⁴⁶ In the next few years the concept gained attention in and out of the policing professions. In 1914 the city chamberlain of New York City, Henry Bruère, published an article entitled "Police As Welfare Workers."⁴⁷ In general, such reformers envisioned the police department as the central coordinating agency for an attack on social problems because police were thought to have more immediate and first-hand contact with social problems than any governmental agency. A few police officials also lent their support to this concept. In 1913, the chief of police of Rochester, New York, remarked to police officials attending the annual IACP convention that "the time is at hand when the efficiency of the police will be judged, not by the number of criminals apprehended, but by the amount of crime committed in a community, and the popular policeman will no longer be the catcher of criminals, but the one who foresees crime and prevents it."⁴⁸

By 1919 a handful of police experiments had tried crime prevention programs. Detroit, which set up a juvenile delinquency division in 1877, assigned a captain and ten officers to this work by 1920. New York City's Police Commissioner Arthur Woods (1914-1918), a Harvard graduate and former headmaster of Groton School when Franklin Delano Roosevelt was a student, shaped a varied program in which released penitentiary inmates were helped to find jobs, a Junior Police involving some 6,000 youths had been created, and, in 1917, a "welfare-officer" had been assigned to each of forty-seven precincts to work with problem children. In Berkeley, ten years of growing interest in police work with juvenile delinquents had led to the introduction of courses on crime prevention into the training program for police officers.⁴⁹

Vollmer, then, in his address, "The Policeman As A Social Worker," was responding to a number of ideas current in reform public administration and police circles. Berkeley's police department, however, could take credit for first developing a program coordinating police efforts at crime prevention with those of other government agencies. In 1925 the first coordinating council in the country was organized by Vollmer in Berkeley for the purpose of mobilizing community resources to deal with juvenile delinquency. In the next decade, Berkeley's Coordinating Council Plan spread to nine other states and involved some seventy-three coordinating councils or similar organizations supported by public or private agencies.⁵⁰

Vollmer's interest in juveniles was long standing. In the first few years after he became town marshal, he served notice to his men that juveniles were not to be put behind bars. His scientific interest in juvenile delinquency, however, can be dated from 1915 when the department first began to keep separate statistics on juvenile and adult offenses.⁵¹ When in the following years juvenile crimes increased sharply, Vollmer tried to discover the underlying causes. His familiarity with the studies of William Healy, the famous Chicago psychiatrist whose investigations of criminal behavior exerted a major influence on criminological thought in this period, convinced him of the need to study juvenile delinquency from several points of view—psychiatric, neurological, psychological, sociological, and medical.⁵² Vollmer believed it unfair for the courts to reach decisions

on the disposition of delinquents without a scientific examination. He was convinced that many delinquents suffered from mental and physical defects, such as feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, and insanity. Therefore, criminals needed to be classified by types and treated in an appropriate humane way. While in recent years the search for criminal types has been displaced from the mainstream of criminological theory and what has interested criminologists is how criminals are like everyone else, Vollmer was responding to the latest developments in criminological thought of his day.⁵³

Accordingly, in 1919 Vollmer helped initiate a study of children in the first six grades of a Berkeley public school, the Hawthorne School Study, aimed at discovering relationships between personal abnormalities of children and social conditions. The study concluded that some children possessed the same pattern of personal and social abnormalities found in the life histories of adult criminals. These children were labeled "predelinquents." Unless they received attention from appropriate social agencies, Vollmer believed, many would be likely to become involved in crime.

Vollmer suggested that the police department should gather information on the delinquent tendencies of children. With information drawn from the personal observations of police officers and school authorities, the department could plot the residential location of these children on a city map. Then the police would be in a position to "command assistance from parents, teachers, preachers, and recreation supervisors" to eliminate those individual and social factors which would inevitably produce more crime.⁵⁴

Today, this program, of course, is recognized as a greatly oversimplified scheme for dealing with juvenile delinquency, the result of excessive optimism about the public good that might be derived from the intervention of trained professionals in the private lives of citizens. It represented a professional version of the concern with private moral behavior shown by the moral reformers of the Progressive Era and a potentially dangerous intrusion on the private rights of citizens.

Vollmer unhesitatingly proposed such sweeping intervention in the private lives of citizens. On one occasion he declared: "When parents are unable, by reason of economic or other conditions, to furnish the proper home training and their offspring acquires delinquent tendencies, or where temptations tear the moral fabric, or where bad habits of defective or neglected children are transmitted to others, the community and the child would profit were it possible to place these potential offenders in parental schools until they are taught how to adjust themselves in a normal environment."⁵⁵ Vollmer's program of crime prevention, a radically new departure in law enforcement, sanctioned police action against predicted as well as actual criminal behavior. Like professionals in other fields, Vollmer became caught up in the movement to "save the child" which we now realize neglected the rights of children and greatly overestimated the reform capabilities of the "child savers."⁵⁶

The program of crime prevention initiated by Vollmer in Berkeley fell short of its objectives. It did result in a larger degree of cooperation and coordination between the police department and other social agencies. The "psychiatric attack upon an entire area," as Elisabeth Lossing of the department's Crime Prevention Division head phrased it, never materialized.⁵⁷



ABOVE: One of Vollmer's major contributions to law enforcement was his sustained emphasis on police training and scientific method and investigation. The group of police officers and their instructor, Dr. Albert Schneider (standing), are studying microscopy in 1915 at police school. Vollmer is seated (left) at the table.



LEFT: During the late 1910's, handwriting and fingerprint classification, chemical analysis, and the polygraph or lie detector were developed by his colleagues. In 1923 Inspector Frank L. Waterbury administered the polygraph test (left) to a man accused of murder who was adjudged innocent by the machine.

The Crime Prevention Division, established in 1925, had the backing of numerous city agencies and organizations, but it received crucial support from individuals who sought to establish a modern child guidance clinic and saw the Crime Prevention Division as a substitute. According to Lossing, who became the division's head in 1925, this fact accounted for the appointment of a person to run the division who was both a woman and a professional social worker with psychiatric and psychological training. Thus, the work of the division came to focus on personal counseling, investigation, and referral and to involve, for the most part, female adult and juvenile offenders. Between July, 1925, and July, 1935, the division handled 1,563 juvenile and 1,905 adult cases, of which 1,689 of the juveniles and 1,451 of the adults were females. The cases of male juveniles over twelve years of age continued under the jurisdiction of a police inspector.⁵⁸

Throughout the 1920's and 1930's Vollmer worked to persuade police of their responsibility for assuming a new, socially oriented role in crime prevention. In his wide-ranging study of the police and modern society published in 1936, he reiterated that "police organizations constitute . . . the logical agencies for the coordination of the resources of the community in a concentrated effort toward crime prevention."⁵⁹ Vollmer made clear that he considered this a complementary role for the "scientific policeman," a term first appearing in his writing in 1930.⁶⁰ In 1936, when asked how to create a modern police force, he pointed to the need for "scientific police officials" but added that a police force should be "a socialized organization capable of understanding the factors underlying delinquency" and able to contribute "towards the removal of the causes."⁶¹

Vollmer's concern with the prevention of delinquency was a logical extension of his interest in crime control, but it also developed from his strong humanitarian concern which demonstrated itself in other areas as well. Within his own department Vollmer took measures to eliminate and prevent police brutality.⁶² In 1929 when Vollmer was on leave from Berkeley and teaching in Chicago, a policeman allegedly struck a prisoner. The officer involved received a reprimand and an entry in his record from the acting chief. Vollmer wrote to a correspondent at the time that if he had been in Berkeley when this affair occurred "his services would have been terminated immediately because under no circumstances can we countenance brutality of any kind in the police department."⁶³ In 1923 when Vollmer was chief of the Los Angeles police department and responsible for the operation of the large city jail system, he tried to improve the conditions for prisoners.⁶⁴ Finding the jail squalid and overcrowded, he made an appeal to the mayor and city council for the construction of a new city jail which would consist of one-story barracks buildings with modern plumbing and kitchen facilities and with space for growing flowers and vegetables. He also proposed that volunteer prisoners be allowed to build the new jail. Although he later was heavily criticized for being too soft in his attitude toward the city's prison inmates and the city council ignored his proposal, a Grand Jury investigating the condition of the city's jails a short while later finally ordered that new jails be constructed according to Vollmer's plans. The new jail complex represented one of the early experiments with the concept of prison farms.⁶⁵ Vollmer's humanitarianism was also reflected in his support for the abolition of capital punishment in California.⁶⁶

In his efforts to improve the education and training of police officers, Vollmer

also demonstrated his concern with the social dimensions of police work. While his goal was to make policemen professionals, equal in education and status to professionals in other fields, he realized that this goal, this "fancy," could only be achieved sometime in the future: "My fancy pictures to me a new profession in which the very best manhood in our nation will be happy to serve in future," Vollmer wrote in 1930. "Why should not the cream of the nation be perfectly willing to devote their lives to the cause of service providing that service is dignified, socialized, and professionalized? Surely the Army offers no such opportunities for contributing to the welfare of the nation and yet men unhesitatingly spend their lives preparing for Army service."⁶⁷ In a reply to a *Philadelphia Inquirer* reporter who requested a statement on the crime problem, he observed: "The policeman's task is much more difficult than that of the doctor, the lawyer, or the engineer, because to do the job thoroughly the trained officer should have a knowledge of all three of these professions, but we consider the job well done when we select for our police force the laborer, chauffeur, farmer, or any other untrained or unskilled person regardless of his intelligence or his educational fitness for the job." Underscoring the paramount importance of police training, he urged: "We might set this down as one of the prime factors in our search for crime causes since intelligent and trained policemen would strike at the root of the evil by destroying the germs that produce social disease."⁶⁸ Well-educated policemen were needed not only to advance policing administratively, scientifically, and technologically, but to develop police departments into socially oriented agencies of crime prevention.

Beginning in 1908, Vollmer had pioneered in the creation of police schools within police departments. By the end of the 1920's he became the acknowledged leader of a movement to establish police schools in colleges and universities. Vollmer's appointment as the nation's first professor of police administration in 1929 represented a new recognition of the need for professionally trained police forces and research in the field of police administration.⁶⁹ In 1931, when Vollmer became the first professor of police administration at the University of California, he helped organize the first college-level training program in the country at San Jose State College in San Jose, California.⁷⁰

The original program of study at San Jose State College reflected Vollmer's belief in a broad education for police officers. The first-year requirements consisted of courses in police administration, physical education, psychology, English, chemistry, physical science, and political science with electives in commerce (typing and stenography) and physics. In the second year students took advanced courses in police administration, sociology, physical education (boxing and wrestling), introduction to psychiatry, bacteriology (micro-analysis), student health (first-aid), political science, and American institutions with electives in commerce, public health, and foreign languages.⁷¹

In 1931 Vollmer wrote: "After spending nearly a quarter of a century instructing policemen I have come to the conclusion that the mechanics of the profession are of less importance than a knowledge of human beings."⁷² Hence, he placed heavy emphasis in the police curriculum on the study of human behavior, especially abnormal behavior. He informed one correspondent that he would urge police instructors "to visit regularly . . . at state hospitals, psychopathic hospitals,

hospitals for the feeble-minded, hospitals for the criminally insane.” He believed that “the key to human behavior lies through a study of its abnormal manifestations, starting with the frankly insane, those who are recognized to be distinctly abnormal, and next the ‘middle of the road’ group sometimes labeled semi-insane or semi-responsible.”⁷³

A few years later, however, Vollmer commented on the pressure for courses of a strictly technical nature: “Obviously, the man on the beat need not be specially skilled in either the mental, biological or social sciences, nor should it be necessary for him to be intimately acquainted with every phase of the humanities. But none of these can be overlooked in the training of policemen if he is to have a broad, cultural, scientific, and technical background requisite for the performance of the modern policeman’s duties.”⁷⁴

Ultimately, despite his concern with the social dimensions of police work and humanitarian attitude toward criminals, Vollmer’s interest in crime control led him to advocate particularly stringent action toward recidivists (persons with records of repeated crimes). He argued that these persons ought to be kept in prison until it could be definitely proven that they would commit no further crimes, although he offered no suggestions as to how such a determination might be made. In actuality he appeared to advocate indefinite administrative retention in prison of repeat offenders,⁷⁵ and he further advocated that persons released from prison be compelled to register and to keep the police informed of their movement between states. Aware of citizen resistance to such measures, he maintained that they were essential to the protection of communities against crime of a “migratory” nature.⁷⁶

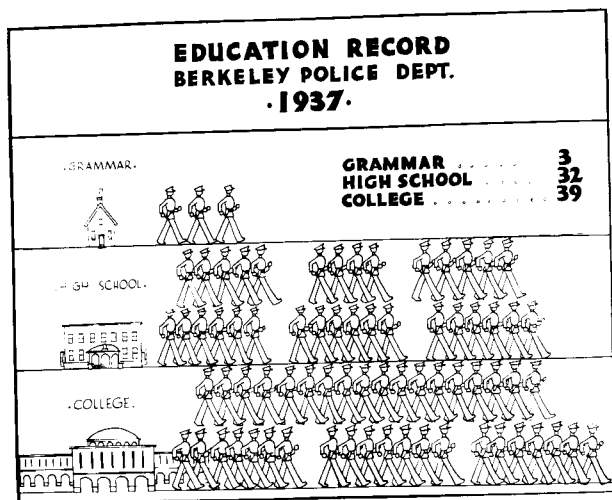
In the interest of crime control and crime prevention, there was no principle about which Vollmer was more insistent than the need to eliminate politics from policing. In recent years it has become increasingly questionable whether this is possible. Professionalized police departments seem as political in their own way as old-style police departments whose policies were dictated to a large extent by ward politics.⁷⁷ Police officers have been viewed as representative of white,

Open to unconventional methods of apprehending criminals, Vollmer experimented for a time with a pack of trained bloodhounds.





Concerned with the social and psychiatric dimensions of crime, Vollmer saw Elizabeth Lossing, a professional social worker (shown above with Vollmer's successor, J. A. Greening) appointed in 1925 to head the crime prevention bureau.



Convinced that well-educated men were essential to advancing policing administratively, scientifically, and psychologically, Vollmer drew national attention in 1918 by recruiting college students as officers. By 1937, a majority of the force had college-level training.

middle-class values and as prejudiced against racial and political minorities.⁷⁸ It is important, however, to understand why police leaders like Vollmer believed in the possibility of keeping politics out of policing, regardless of whether they succeeded.

In *The Police and Modern Society* (1936) Vollmer remarked that “the police services of the United States have traveled just as far toward the control and prevention of crime as the public will permit. So long as legal procedure and political influence are allowed to bring comfort and aid to a criminal population of more than five million persons . . . so long will the police labor in vain. . . .”⁷⁹ The key battle, he believed, was the selection of police chiefs. He wrote to one correspondent that “with reference to the question concerning the selection of a chief of police the only standards employed thus far seems to be to pick the man who

is judged politically qualified for the position. In other words, there is no approved method of selection of chiefs of police by scientific means. . . ."⁸⁰ Vollmer's observation is largely true today. The practice of selecting a police chief varies from city to city. The trend has been toward appointment by the chief administrator of the municipality, and the position may or may not be under civil service. In some instances, a competitive examination is administered; in other instances the chief administrator uses his own criteria for selection.⁸¹

On numerous occasions Vollmer urged the selection of chiefs of police from lists of eligible candidates prepared by civil service commissions. He also insisted that a chief appointed in this manner be granted all the protections of tenure afforded by civil service rules.⁸² Vollmer observed that European nations recognized the police executive's importance and that many men became heads of police departments after distinguished service in other government posts.⁸³

For the same reasons that he opposed the interference of politicians in the selection of police chiefs and officers, Vollmer came to oppose attempts to deal with social problems by means of criminal laws. Despite his involvement as a police chief in campaigns against vice, he wrote in 1936 that the only way to eliminate vice, by which he meant gambling, prostitution, and the illegal sale or use of liquor or narcotics, was by "educative processes."⁸⁴ Attempts to repress vice by means of the criminal law, he believed, only resulted in the corruption of municipal government as a whole and the police in particular. As for solutions, "The only safe and sane method of handling the problem of gambling—and of all the parasitic vices—is by licensing, regulation, and control, through a state agency established solely for that purpose and empowered to enforce the regulatory provisions."⁸⁵ Vollmer suggested this same solution for the problem of narcotics. "Stringent laws, spectacular police drives, vigorous prosecution, and imprisonment of addicts and peddlers have proved not only useless and enormously expensive . . . but they are also unjustifiably and unbelievably cruel in their application to the unfortunate drug victims," he declared. He proposed "the establishment of federal control and dispensation—at cost—of habit-forming drugs. . . . With the profit motive gone, no effort would be made to encourage its use by private dispensers of narcotics, and the drug peddler would disappear." Vollmer viewed drug addiction, like other vices, as a "medical problem" rather than a "police problem."⁸⁶

Vollmer's dislike of politics as well as his concern with crime control led him to advocate consolidation and closer coordination of police forces on the state and national levels of government. In October, 1934, Vollmer wrote to the president of the Los Angeles Bar Association to express his views on statewide consolidation of police forces: "It is my opinion that a single state police force which would eliminate all other police forces in the state would be much more efficient and economical than the multitudinous police units that are to be found in California," Vollmer declared. "We could wipe out of existence all constables, sheriffs, village marshals, municipal police forces, the state motor vehicle police force, and a number of the other state forces that have police power, and substitute a carefully selected and well-trained body of men to do their work."⁸⁷

Vollmer's model for the centralization of police forces within a state was the system of various European nations. In *Crime and the State Police* (1935), Vollmer

and Alfred E. Parker praised the efficiency of such European state police forces as the *Guardia Civil* of Spain, "a national police corps organized on a military basis."⁸⁸ In the interest of crime control Vollmer was willing to eliminate one of the fundamental features of a democratic police system, namely, local control.

Vollmer's career encouraged progress toward police professionalism because it produced measurable results. Statistics on crime in Berkeley under Vollmer's leadership and in Wichita, Kansas, where Vollmer's former student and officer Orlando W. Wilson headed the police, proved the value of scientific police work. The low crime rate Berkeley had achieved by 1915 continued to be characteristic. By 1936 Vollmer could point to the fact that Berkeley had the lowest crime rate of any city of its class in California and, at the same time, the lowest per capita cost for policing of any city of its size in the country.⁸⁹ Wilson's record was similarly impressive. After graduating from the University of California at Berkeley, training under Vollmer during his college years (and briefly thereafter), and heading the Fullerton, California, police department for three years, Wilson took over the Wichita police department. At first town politicians referred to him as "the boy scout cop," but he successfully reorganized the department and by 1938 could point to crime clearance rates far in excess of the national average.⁹⁰

Although Vollmer retired as chief of police in 1932 and as professor at the University of California in 1937, he continued in active research and writing until 1951. Following his death in 1955, the editors of the first issue of a new police journal noted that "the Vollmer system of police administration attracted national and international attention, illuminating the way for an emerging profession and launching the American police services into a period of transition, the full implications of which are not yet generally understood."⁹¹ Although the obituary ignored the contributions of others to the development of police professionalism, it was a fitting tribute to the importance and pioneering nature of Vollmer's police career.

Because of its impacts, Vollmer's career deserves to be viewed critically. In his zeal to control crime, Vollmer advocated proposals for the consolidation of police forces which contained dangerous implications for democratic control of the police. Vollmer's confidence in the capability of the social sciences to predict which juveniles would become delinquent led him to advocate serious invasions of the rights of potential delinquents and their parents. In his concern with police crime prevention or social work, Vollmer stressed the importance of knowledge of abnormal behavior, when in fact the non-criminal aspects of police work require general human-relations knowledge or, in the case of crisis intervention work, knowledge of how to handle family quarrels, alcoholics, drug addicts, gatherings of youths and the like.

Nevertheless, Vollmer deserves respect for his attempt to achieve a balanced relationship between the goals of crime control, crime prevention, and community relations. That his reputation rests more on his accomplishments in the area of crime control is a reflection of the fact that it is easier to measure performance in this area. Vollmer recognized that police work is much more than the enforcement of laws and apprehension of criminals. Although his views of crime rested on criminological theories which have been revised or superseded, he did approach the study of the nature of crime with an open mind and tried to

incorporate the new knowledge into his work. Above all, Vollmer recognized that police have one of the most difficult tasks in society and that this duty requires men and women of intelligence, good education, and high dedication.

Although many of the reforms which Vollmer helped to initiate in police work have become commonplace today, especially those concerned with criminal investigation, police administration, and police communications and transportation, many of his ideas continue to be controversial. There is still disagreement about how much education police officers need to accomplish their work. Most police recruits have acquired only a high-school education, and most receive only a short technical training before beginning their work.⁹² The role of police in crime and delinquency prevention is not yet clearly defined.⁹³ The idea that police work requires the skills of a social worker still meets resistance, despite evidence that police work involves human relations as much as law enforcement skills.⁹⁴ In short, the social dimensions of policing which Vollmer outlined are still underdeveloped.

Several years ago, Arthur Niederhoffer, a veteran police officer turned sociologist, wrote that "from within the system a conflict of values is spreading confusion. The old police code symbolized by the 'tough cop' is waning. The new ideology glorifying the 'social scientist police officer' is meeting unexpected resistance. The external force of social change has set the police organization adrift in uncharted territory."⁹⁵ As Niederhoffer's remarks suggest, the professionalization of policing as Vollmer conceived of it has been a slow process. Although innovations in the area of crime control have been accepted relatively quickly, new ideas in the areas of crime prevention and community relations have encountered considerable opposition. In these areas, Vollmer's career may still serve as a source of inspiration to those who continue to pursue the "impossible dream" of changing the police.

Although Vollmer had only a grade school education, he authored four books and, between 1917 and 1945, nearly fifty articles, primarily for professional journals. Here, after retirement, he is pictured with his major work, The Police and Modern Society.



NOTES

1. A. C. Germann, "Changing the Police—The Impossible Dream?" *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science* (JCL, C, PS), LXII:416-21 (September, 1971).

2. Jerome H. Skolnick, *Justice Without Trial: Law Enforcement in Democratic Society* (New York, 1966); Paul Jacobs, *Prelude to Riot: A View of Urban America from the Bottom* (New York, 1967).

3. For biographical details of Vollmer's life, see Alfred E. Parker, *Crime Fighter: August Vollmer* (New York, 1961) and Albert Deutsch, *The Trouble with Cops* (New York, 1954), pp. 114-48. Parker, a close associate of Vollmer, collaborated with him on two books: *Crime and the State Police* (Berkeley, 1935) and *Crime, Crooks and Cops* (New York and London, 1937). Deutsch spent summers in Berkeley and became close friends with Vollmer and O. W. Wilson. The Vollmer MSS, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, includes a two-page chronology of Vollmer's major activities from 1896 to 1947 which is useful. Frederick L. Collins, "A Professor Who Cleaned Up A City," *Collier's*, LXXIV:12 (November 8, 1924), contains some additional information. This discussion of Vollmer's ideas on policing is based on a reading of letters in the Vollmer MSS (which do not begin until 1929) and his published writings.

Since the research for this article was completed, the following studies have appeared: Alfred E. Parker, *The Berkeley Police Story* (Springfield, Ill., 1972); *August Vollmer: Pioneer in Police Professionalism* (Interviews conducted by Jane Howard Robinson; Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley, 1972); Gene E. Carte, *August Vollmer and the Origins of Police Professionalism* (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1972); and Gene Edward Carte, "August Vollmer and the Origins of Police Professionalism," *Journal of Police Science and Administration* 1. (1973), 274-81.

4. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 1-37.

5. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 77.

6. Quoted in Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 41-42.

7. William McAdoo, *Guarding A Great City*, 3 (New York and London, 1906).

8. "The Police Problem," *Harper's Weekly*, XLIII:1202 (December 2, 1899).

9. Jacob August Riis, *How the Other Half Lives* (New York, 1890) and *The Making of An American* (New York, 1901); Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities* (New York, 1904); Newton D. Baker, "Law, Police and Social Problems," *Atlantic Monthly*, CXVI:12-20 (July, 1915); Jane Addams, *Newer Ideals of Peace* (New York and London, 1907); Brand Whitlock, *On the Enforcement of Law in Cities* (Toledo, Ohio, 1911); Theodore Roosevelt, "Ethnology of the Police," *Munsey's*, XVII:395-99 (January, 1897).

10. See in addition Frank Moss, "National Danger from Police Corruption," *North American Review*, CLXXIII:474-75 (October, 1901); Hugo Münsterberg, "The Third Degree," *McClure's Magazine*, XXIX:614-22 (October, 1907); and Hugh C. Weir, "The Menace of the Police," *World To-day*, XVIII:52-59, 171-78, 308-13, 599-606 (January-March, 1910) and *World To-day*, XIX:839-45 (June-August, 1910).

11. Formed as the National Chiefs of Police Union in 1893, it became the National Association of Chiefs of Police in 1895, the Chiefs of Police of the United States and Canada in 1898, before becoming the IACP. See the proceedings of the organization during these years.

12. See John L. Thompson, "National Identification Bureau is IACP Pioneers' Legacy," *Police Chief*, XXXV:10-42 (January, 1968).

13. See IACP proceedings.

14. August Vollmer, "Police Progress in the Past Twenty-Five Years," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, (JCL & C), XXIV:161-75 (May-June, 1933).

15. Quoted in Berkeley Writers' Program, *Berkeley: The First Seventy-Five Years*, 127 (Berkeley, 1941).

16. William Warren Ferrier, *Berkeley, California: The Story of the Evolution of A Hamlet into A City of Culture and Commerce*, 262-63 (Berkeley, 1933).

17. Berkeley Writers' Program, *Berkeley*, 123-24.

18. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 43-52.

19. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 53-54.

20. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 54-58.

21. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 69-71.

22. August Vollmer, "Revision of the Atcherly Modus Operandi System," *JCL & C*, X:229-74 (August, 1919).
23. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 72-76.
24. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 76-80.
25. August Vollmer and Albert Schneider, "The School for Police As Planned at Berkeley," *JCL & C*, VII:877 (March, 1917).
26. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 81-85; Vollmer and Schneider, "The School for Police," 879.
27. Vollmer and Schneider, "The School for Police," 880-81.
28. August Vollmer to Cletus Howell, January 20, 1931, Vollmer MSS.
29. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 88-89.
30. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 99-104.
31. August Vollmer to Helen M. Rocca, November 15, 1929.
32. August Vollmer to Boris Brasol, December 27, 1930.
33. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 105-19.
34. See IACP, *Proceedings*, 1621.
35. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 87.
36. Raymond B. Fosdick, *American Police Systems*, 310-11 (New York, 1920).
37. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 123-26.
38. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 122-48.
39. Jack Webb, *The Badge* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1958); Paul Jacobs, *Prelude to Riot: A View of Urban America from the Bottom*, 13-60 (New York, 1966).
40. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 166-81.
41. Edwin H. Sutherland and C. E. Gehlke, "Crime and Punishment," in President's Research Committee on Social Trends, *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, vol. II:1139-45 (New York and London, 1933).
42. Vollmer, "Police Progress in the Past Twenty-Five Years," 161.
43. Edwin H. Sutherland, *Principles of Criminology* (3rd ed., revised), p. 256 (Chicago and Philadelphia, 1939).
44. IACP, *Proceedings*, 1919, pp. 32-38.
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47. Henry Bruère, "Police As Welfare Workers," *American City*, X:282 (March, 1914), and "The Police as Social Workers," *Outlook*, CVIII:861-62 (December 16, 1914).
48. IACP, *Proceedings*, 1913, p. 53; see also IACP, *Proceedings* 1915, pp. 66-70.
49. Fosdick, *American Police Systems*, 354-78; Deutsch, *The Trouble With Cops*, 114-48; Elisabeth Lossing, "The Crime Prevention Work of the Berkeley Police Department," in Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, eds., *Preventing Crime: A Symposium*, 237-63 (New York and London, 1936); *Spring* 3100, XIII:13 (June, 1942).
50. Minutes (copy), National Advisory Committee on Coordinating Councils, National Probation Association, March 28, 1936, Vollmer MSS.
51. Lossing, "The Crime Prevention Work."
52. IACP, *Proceedings*, 1918, pp. 16-20.
53. See George B. Vold, *Theoretical Criminology* (New York, 1958), 75-89; Austin T. Turk, "Prospects for Theories of Criminal Behavior," *JCL, C, PS*, LV:454-61 (December, 1964).
54. IACP, *Proceedings*, 1921, pp. 77-80.
55. August Vollmer, "The Prevention and Detection of Crime As Viewed by A Police Officer," *Annals*, CXXV:151 (May, 1926).
56. Anthony M. Platt, *The Child Savers: The Invention of Delinquency* (Chicago and London, 1970).
57. Lossing, "The Crime Prevention Work."
58. Lossing, "The Crime Prevention Work."
59. August Vollmer, *The Police and Modern Society*, 235 (Berkeley, 1936).
59. Lossing, "The Crime Prevention Work."
59. August Vollmer, *The Police and Modern Society*, 235 (Berkeley, 1936).
60. August Vollmer, "The Scientific Policeman," *American Journal of Police Science*, I:8-12

(January, 1930), and "The Scientific Policeman—Introducing A New Type of Crime Fighter," 13–13, V:15–16 (August, 1930).

61. August Vollmer to Reverend T. McAfee, February 21, 1936, Vollmer MSS.
62. See, for example, Frank G. Swain to August Vollmer, November 20, 1929; C. D. Lee to August Vollmer, November 20, 1929; August Vollmer to C. D. Lee, November 30, 1929.
63. Frank G. Swain to August Vollmer, November 20, 1929; C. D. Lee to August Vollmer, November 20, 1929; August Vollmer to C. D. Lee, November 30, 1929.
64. August Vollmer to John G. Clark, January 9, 1935.
65. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 153–58.
66. August Vollmer to John Buwalds, March 19, 1931.
67. August Vollmer to J. A. Greening, October 15, 1930.
68. August Vollmer to George Barton, October 28, 1930.
69. August Vollmer to O. W. Wilson, March 7, 1936.
70. Vollmer, "Police Progress in the Past Twenty-Five Years," 164–65.
71. Vollmer, "Police Progress in the Past Twenty-Five Years," 164–65.
72. August Vollmer to Cornelius F. Cahalane, January 21, 1931.
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74. August Vollmer to G. T. Ragsdale, March 20, 1936.
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76. Vollmer, *The Police and Modern Society*, 5.
77. Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities*.
78. See, for example, Jerome Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest; A Report Submitted by Jerome H. Skolnick, Director Task Force on Violent Aspects of Protest and Confrontation of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence*, 241–92 (New York, 1969).
79. Vollmer, *The Police and Modern Society*, 1.
80. August Vollmer to Roy V. Sherman, February 4, 1930.
81. See *Municipal Police Administration*, 5th ed. (Chicago, 1961), 152–53.
82. August Vollmer to W. S. Gilmore, October 25, 1929; August Vollmer to C. H. Campbell, October 15, 1934; August Vollmer to Roy V. Sherman, February 4, 1930.
83. U.S. National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, *Report on Police*, No. 14 (Washington, D.C., 1931), 19.
84. Vollmer, *The Police and Modern Society*, 82.
85. Vollmer, *The Police and Modern Society*, 99–100.
86. Vollmer, *The Police and Modern Society*, 118.
87. August Vollmer to W. H. Anderson, October 23, 1934.
88. Vollmer and Parker, *Crime and the State Police*, 131.
89. August Vollmer to Reverend T. McAfee, February 21, 1936.
90. See "College Cop," *Reader's Digest*, XXXIII:99–102 (December, 1938), and "Wichita Presents Evidence for Professionalized Police Service," *Police Chiefs' News Letter*, V:1 (February, 1938).
91. "August Vollmer—A Symbol of Values," *Police*, 1:6–7 (1956).
92. *The Challenge of Crime in A Free Society: A Report by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice*, 279–85 (New York, 1968).
93. Dan G. Pursuit, et al., eds., *Police Programs for Preventing Crime and Delinquency*, 4–14 (Springfield, Ill., 1972).
94. Kenneth N. Fortier, "The Police Culture—Its Effect on Sound Police-Community Relations," *Police Chief*, XXXIX:33–35 (February, 1972).
95. Arthur Niederhoffer, *Behind the Shield: The Police in Urban Society*, 4 (Garden City, N.Y., 1967).

THE PHOTOGRAPHS on pages 104 (top) and 121 are from the August Vollmer collection at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. All the other illustrations are courtesy the Berkeley Police Department.

The First Picture Show

GEOFFREY BELL

*Producer of the documentary films Point Reyes, Maya,
and The Movies Go West and author of articles on motion picture activities
in the West and a new filmscript based on this article.*

THE WORLD'S FIRST MOTION PICTURE EXHIBITION! New York or Hollywood? London or Paris? Strangely enough, it was San Francisco, a city not usually associated with the early film industry, that hosted the premiere movie showing of all time.

And the sponsor of this extraordinary event—again a figure not popularly associated with the entertainment media—was none other than Leland Stanford, governor of California and driver of the final golden spike that linked the converging sections of the transcontinental railroad.

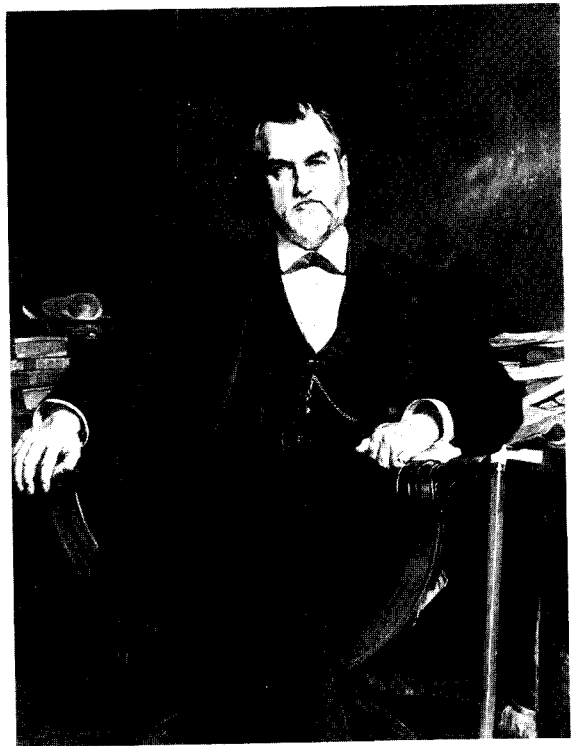
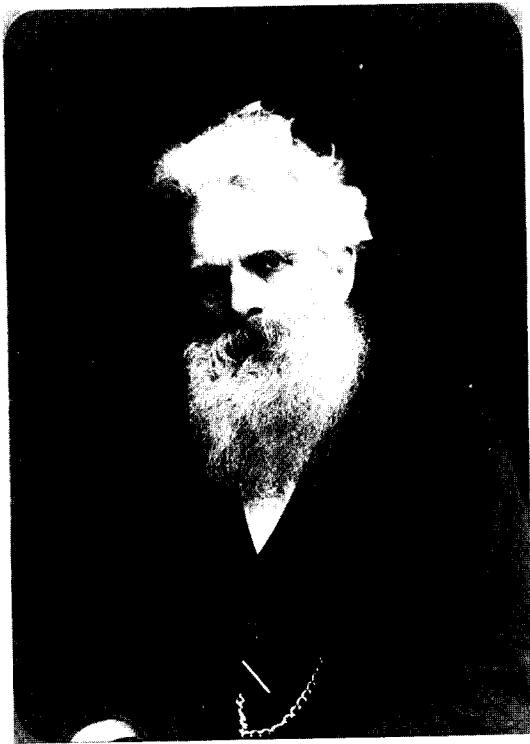
A century ago, San Francisco was separated from the East by a forbidding wilderness, yet it was the cultural center of the Pacific frontier—goal of America's westward course, port for Argosies to wider shores. The city enjoyed a debonaire atmosphere, a zest for drama, and a taste for the arts.

Even so, the audience that assembled in the exhibition rooms of the San Francisco Art Association¹ on that evening of May 4, 1880, could hardly have realized the historical import of what it was about to witness. The Zoogyroscope—for that was its strange name—was to present the first known, recorded public exhibition of the new picture that moved.³ These locally-made photographs, shown as they were on a screen by genuine cinematic projection, were to signal the dawn of a new era in art and entertainment.

The event attained equal status in the theatrical section of the San Francisco *Chronicle* with such stage attractions of the week as Offenbach's *Bluebeard* at the Tivoli, Sardou's *Diplomacy* at the Standard Theater, and, at the Bush Street Theater, the Pacific Coast's opening night of Gilbert and Sullivan's *Pirates of Penzance*. "The Zoogyroscope—Illuminated Photographs in Motion—Admission Fifty Cents," read its advertisement.³ The curious attending received more than a full value for the admission price; they were the first to thrill to a galloping-horse movie chase and, more importantly, to the excitement of the initial screen performance by a human being. It was this inspired presentation that led the San Francisco *Alta California* to prophesy that the Zoogyroscope "laid the foundation for a new method of entertaining the people."

Such a success, however, had required the dogged labor of more than a decade. Unlike modern movies projected by means of a single, continuous strip of film, the Zoogyroscope images were attained by means of sequential transparent images placed around the rim of rotating glass disks and projected rapidly in succession onto a screen, reconstituting living movement.⁴

Yet, even before this, there first had to be the instantaneous photograph.



In the 1881 oil portrait of Leland Stanford (above) by J. L. E. Meissonier, a sheet with the sequential photographs he sponsored is at his side. The Whitmanesque likeness of Muybridge (left) c. 1882 hints at his stormy personality.



On May 4, 1880, the exhibition rooms of the San Francisco Art Association at 430 Pine Street (left) were filled with eager viewers who witnessed the first public showing of cinematically projected pictures that moved. The building, the upper floor of which was shared with the Bohemian Club, burned in 1894.

For the photograph to come alive, the camera must capture action. But the snapshot, so familiar today, did not exist. In the 1870's photography consisted of clumsy, time-consuming, and imprecise operations, so that a split-second photograph had not been possible.⁵ Yet it was just this that Leland Stanford wanted—an instantaneous camera record of one of his thoroughbreds at the gallop.

Stanford's interest in photography is often attributed, according to colorful legend, to a Bonanza bet of \$50,000 in gold on the gait of horses. In fact, there is no record of Stanford ever betting on anything.⁶ Nevertheless, it was his stated contention that for one fleeting moment a trotting steed lifted all four feet off the ground, although he rejected as fallacy traditional theories which likened the animal's position to a rocking horse with its legs reaching forward and straight behind.

To prove his theory, Stanford set out to get photographs of horses in motion. This, in time, he accomplished, but Stanford's contribution to photography had far greater scope, for what may have started casually through a gentleman's argument about equestrian gaits resulted in the world's first split-second photographs. The pictures that he produced at his Palo Alto stock farm not only became a scientific analysis of animal motion but also led to sequential photography capable of recreating movement on the screen and, eventually, to movies as entertainment.

It is significant that the experiments arose not from some frivolous bet, but from Stanford's concern for the improvement of California's livestock and agriculture. This activity followed his many-faceted career commencing with building the first railroad joining the East to the Pacific and culminating with establishing a university.⁷

Scientific breeding and training of horses in order to improve their speed and endurance—in a day when they were central to both farming and transportation—led to Stanford's involvement with gaits.⁸ Although now associated with leisure-time activities, breeding a more efficient animal then was comparable to bringing out a better automobile or tractor today. With characteristic thoroughness, Stanford initiated a study of animal locomotion so as to determine how each stock attained its maximum efficiency.⁹ A horse while running, however, was too fast for the eye to see. Stanford speculated whether the new photograph could obtain stop-action pictures of that which could not be perceived by normal vision. From the photos, Stanford hoped, an analysis could be made of the anatomy of each breed. No one up to this time, however, had yet succeeded in recording rapid motion with a camera, although there had been reports of European attempts to photograph animals and birds.¹⁰

In his search for innovative camera technicians Stanford did not have far to look. Many outstanding photographers resided in San Francisco, remote though it was, for they found the Bay Area ideal for their craft. In addition to the wide variety of beautiful landscapes, the area boasted year-round favorable natural light, and the customary slight moisture in the air helped the developing process.¹¹ Among the area's known photographers, none had the panache of Eadweard Muybridge.

Muybridge had been born in England plain Edward J. Muggeridge. Later he evolved his name to Eadward Muygridge and finally to Eadweard J. Muybridge.

Travelling through the American Far West, he became impressed with its scenic grandeur, and there, with his previous knowledge of the daguerreotype process, he found his true vocation as a professional photographer. Working for the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, Muybridge made camera records of Pacific Coast lighthouses and the new Alaskan territory and later gained commercial success with his internationally-distributed popular stereoscopic slide "views."

Not content with studio-bound artificialities, Muybridge had explored nature at first hand, photographing the cloud formations, water reflections, and mossy coastal forests of the Bay region. One of his spectacular achievements was a 360-degree panorama of San Francisco from the top of Mark Hopkins' tower. Often transporting his bulky camera and laboratory equipment by mule, Muybridge assailed wild and inaccessible areas, photographing California's Big Trees, mining activities, and vintages, as well as remote Indian tribes. His landscapes of the wonders of Yosemite Valley, together with those of his compeer, Carleton E. Watkins, greatly influenced public opinion in favor of preserving it as a national park and even today remain among the most magnificent and heroic ever made.¹²

Muybridge's business card boasted "the most complete photographic apparatus in the United States and a wagon completely fitted up as a photographic workroom."¹³ At his *Helios Flying Studio* on Montgomery Street, San Francisco, Muybridge described himself as a "photographic artist." He affected the dress *artistique* and was his own best publicity agent.¹⁴ To some he was a maverick opportunist, to others a picaresque adventurer; certainly he was an original who advanced his art through technical superiority and photographic vision.

It was the California out-of-doors and its spaciousness that brought Muybridge and Stanford together—Muybridge because of its picturesque qualities, Stanford because of its beneficial climate.¹⁵ This same boundlessness was to give movies (in contrast to the cramped artificialities of the theater) the freshness of open sky and the sweep of wide horizons.

Muybridge was skeptical when Stanford first proposed to commission instantaneous photographs of motion. How could the awkward and tedious camera processes of the 1870's transfix a streaking racehorse?¹⁶ But Stanford, who had overcome the insuperable before in engineering a railroad across the granite ramparts of the high Sierra, was not to be dissuaded. The conjunction of the doughty Stanford and the mercurial Muybridge had begun.

Stories differ about who originated and executed the various ideas in the project; confusion remains as well about the dating and financing. One version contends that Muybridge on his own initiative devised the method of photographing objects in motion; another avers that Stanford was the prime mover who independently conceived the enterprise while Muybridge was but an employee who carried out his directions.¹⁷ Conclusive documentation well may have gone up in flames during the San Francisco disaster of April, 1906. There can be no doubt, however, about the results of the project: the founding of a practical basis for cinematography.

The first attempts at photographing fast motion were made during 1872, but the results were "inconclusive."¹⁸ Then, between 1874 and 1876 Muybridge became embroiled in a notorious murder trial involving the shooting death of his

wife's paramour. He was acquitted but decided it wise to absent the country for a time.¹⁹ Upon his return Muybridge discovered that during these intervening years the chemistry for negative plates had improved so that faster exposures were possible. By mid-1877 Muybridge was able to obtain a camera plate, although barely more than a silhouette, of the fast racing-trotter *Occident* at the instant all hoofs were above the track. This encouraged Stanford to order further systematic studies to obtain photographs at short, regular intervals of time so as to document all the consecutive phases of equestrian limb coordinations and relationships during the various positions of a single stride.²⁰

John D. Isaacs, an engineer on the staff of Stanford's railroad, was engaged to facilitate the solution of technical problems. Additional cameras of most-advanced construction were set up along a specially built track on Stanford's Palo Alto Farm to operate in rapid succession. On a background wall along the track opposite the cameras, a numbered grid was added for purposes of identifying each frame and placing them in a series. The persistent cinematic problem of image registration—timing the framing of the arrival of the horses opposite each camera to coincide with the opening of the shutters—was overcome when Isaacs conceived a mechanism employing the new science of electricity. He laid circuits on the tracks that would be activated as the horses ran by and release the shutters in sequence. By 1878 twelve cameras were operating, and soon the number was increased to twenty-four (twenty-four frames per second remains the standard operating speed of motion picture cameras today). Finally, after seasons of toil in the shimmering summer heat, Muybridge and Isaacs and their staff obtained for Stanford the first unposed, instantaneous, sequential photographs of an object in fast motion.²¹

For a demonstration of these unique action pictures, Stanford invited San Francisco newspaper reporters to Palo Alto on the morning of June 15, 1878. Under a brilliant sun, his champions ran the track in front of the battery of cameras, the sounds of the successive shutters clicking like a continuous roll of drums. Individual exposures from the series revealed that a horse, for an instant, did have all its legs off the ground bunched under its belly.²²

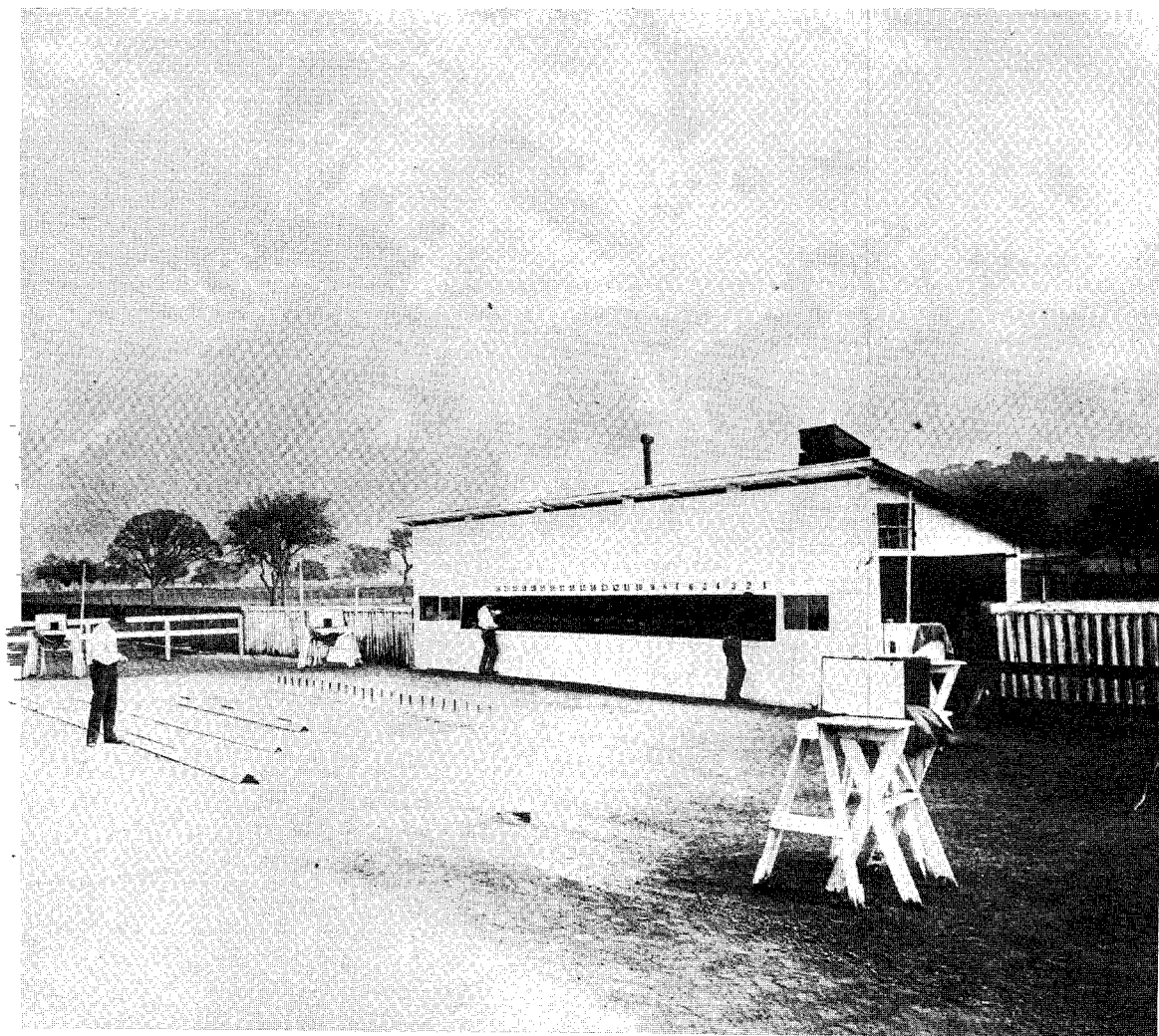
Stanford had proved his theory! The enormous investments in time and money had been worthwhile. They verified Stanford's early assumption concerning gaits, benefited his stables, and revealed considerable new information about animal physiology. Accordingly, the studies were expanded to obtain motion studies of other domestic animals, as well as of wild animals, birds—and even humans.²³

These lightning-quick exposures which required that the camera attain extraordinary high speeds gave great range to the photograph and led directly to the popular hand camera of today. But there was to be more.

During the nineteenth century romanticism was giving way to a more objective world view.²⁴ The new photograph disclosed its subjects in an honest, basic reality and with such convincing authenticity that they exerted a compelling influence on aesthetics. They opened the eyes of viewers to the refreshing charm of the random and the poignancy of the fleeting moment in time, so as to break the spell of salon art's rigid poses.²⁵ The French critic Valéry wrote that the Muybridge studies "lay bare all the mistakes that sculptors and painters had made in

On this experimental track at
 Stanford's Palo Alto farm (right,
 Muybridge photo c. 1878),
 twenty-four sequential, elec-
 trically tripped cameras captured
 "Abe Edgington" (below)
 trotting in instantaneous,
 unposed, natural motion.





their renderings.” Even the haughty Paris academies, stuffed with their varnished certified paintings, had to bow to the San Francisco-revealed fresh truth.²⁶ The convincing reality-factor of the photograph, together with the cultural tradition of painting, made the urge to combine them and other visual media irresistible.

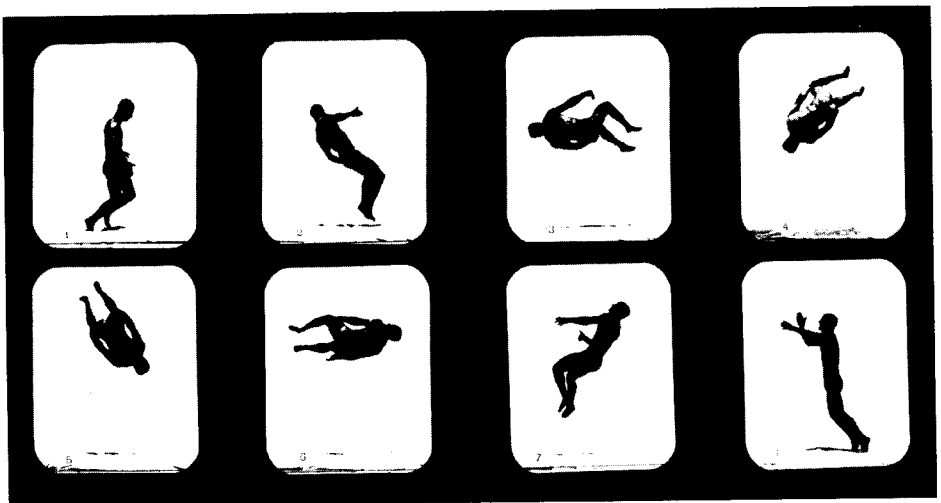
For centuries painting had been used to document and to instruct, as well as for its decorative qualities, and since Leonardo masters had striven to depict motion accurately. Later, the projector magic lantern, which dated from about 1650, drew large audiences to highly theatrical “magical” performances which were often presented by means of several projectors and augmented by rear screen projection and incidental music. Animation appeared during the first part of the nineteenth century with such devices as the zoetrope (wheel of life) which whirled drawings into motion, although the effects could be viewed only by one person. Although a toy, the hand-held novelty had a startling power to make its little pictures appear to leap and run. In 1870 Henry Heyl of Philadelphia adventurously photographed a man and a woman in a turn of a waltz and projected translucent prints before an audience, although he could show but a very brief flickering cycle of motion. Each shadowy lineage, moreover, had been a pre-posed time exposure so that Heyl’s sequence was merely a synthetic reconstruction.²⁷ Stimulating. A possibility. But not truly cinematic.

Now to the photograph had been added the popular appeal of projection and animation, as well as a possibility of suggesting some of the scope and sensuous values of painting. These modes—painting, projection, animation, and the photograph—formerly on parallel tracks of development at last were coming together. The next step was to endow the picture with life, to co-join space with time through rapid sequential photographs.

Sequential images of an event in time were the key which led directly into the film cinema of today. These Stanford-sponsored life-motion pictures differed from all others because they sprang from instant consecutive photographs of successive stages of natural, unposed, and continuous events. Made into transparencies and projected in rapid order, each image merged into the next, creating the illusion of living motion on the screen.

It is interesting that when some individual frames were published as separate

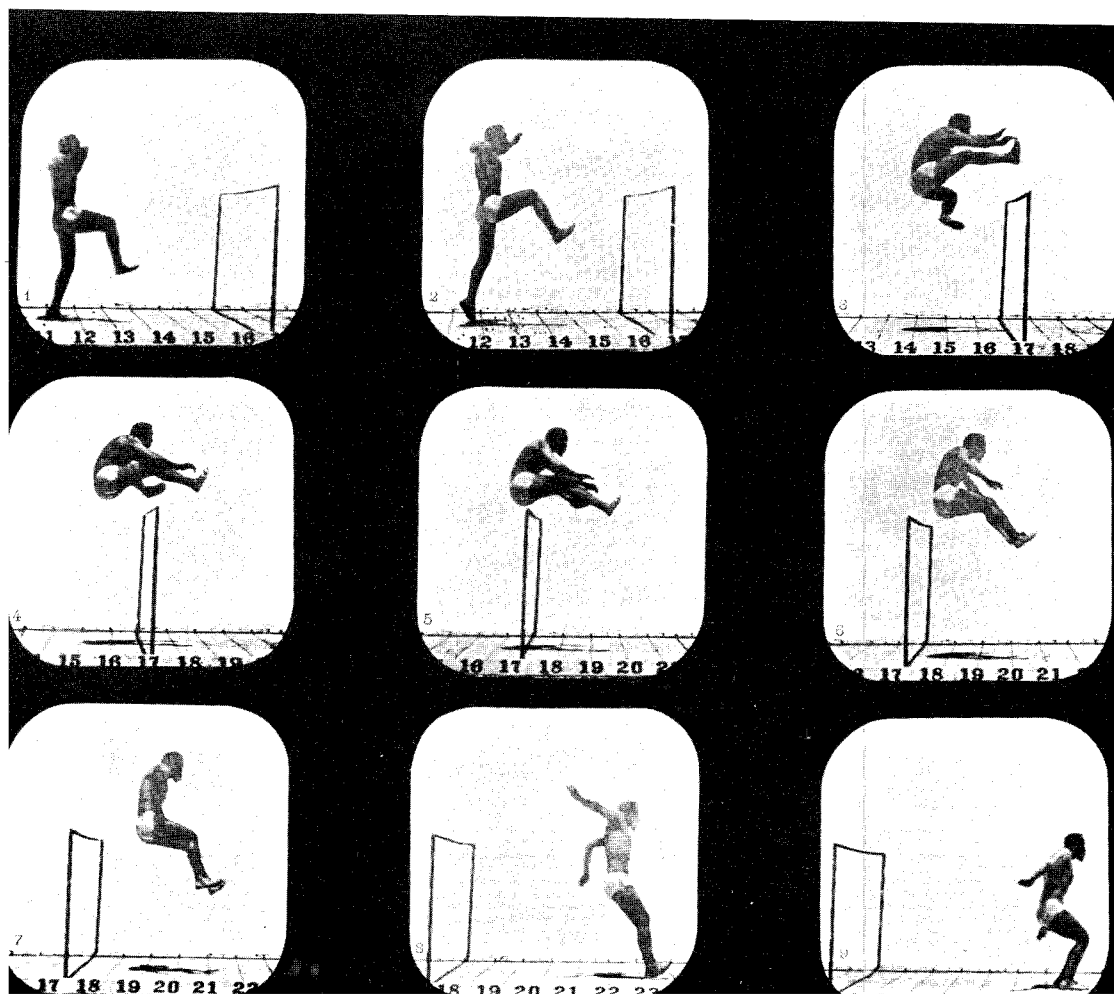
William S. Lawton (right), superintendent of the Olympic Club Gymnasium, performed a back somersault (below) and jumped a high bar (far right) for Muybridge's cameras. These unposed, unbroken actions were recorded by continuous takes of multiple consecutive photographic frames, and Lawton won the distinction of being the earliest known individual to appear in projected motion pictures.



photographs, viewers were incredulous. The positions of the legs of running horses appeared to be grotesque and improbable.²⁸ (To this Stanford replied, "The machine cannot lie.") Yet, shown in a zoetrope, the steed galloped again. All doubts were resolved with animation, so the next step in convincing the public was projection.

Further inventive genius produced the improved intermittent light and the smoother image flow of the Zoogyroscope, the first commercially demonstrated motion picture projector.²⁹ (Because of this advance, George Eastman, less than a decade later, could introduce flexible, transparent motion picture film.)³⁰ By this means at the San Francisco Art Association showing, the photographs taken by Muybridge came to life with stunning effect. The image was first seen immobile and then made animate on the luminous screen in wondrous, undulating, and harmonious movement. The impact of this development is captured by the *Scientific American* of June 5, 1880, which reported after the premiere showing that the Zoogyroscope "threw upon the screen apparently the living, moving animal. Nothing was wanting but the clatter of the hoofs upon the turf and an occasional breath of steam from the nostrils to make the spectator believe that he had before him genuine flesh and blood steeds."

Witnessing the lifelike effects the kinesthetic photographs could produce, Stanford had arranged for athletes from the San Francisco Olympic Club to appear on his motion picture stage as early as 1879. "Men in Motion," exclaimed



the San Francisco *Chronicle* of August 9, 1879, as it described the feats of Mr. William S. Lawton, superintendent of the Olympic Club Gymnasium.³¹ Beginning at 10 A.M. that day, Lawton initiated the action, executing a high jump and a back somersault, both in unposed and unbroken action recorded by continuous takes of multiple consecutive photographic frames. A later *Chronicle* report, following the first exhibition, reported: "Men were made to run across the screen and shown in the acts of jumping and wrestling, the muscular development being admirably shown."

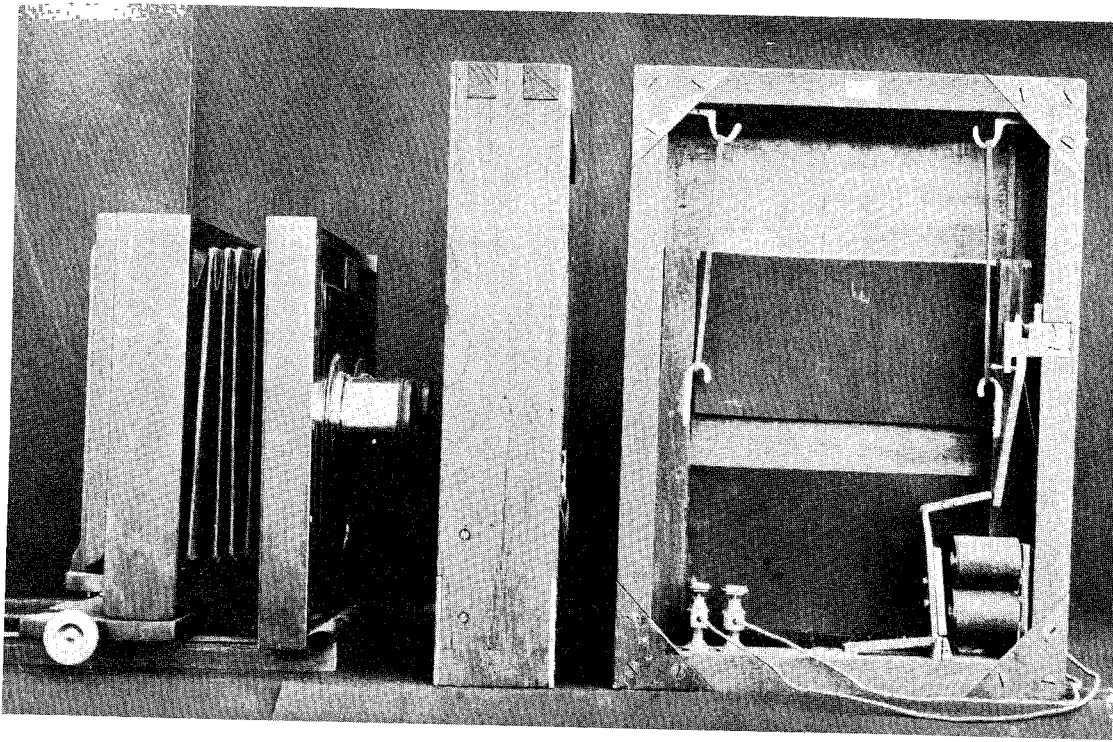
Thus it is that Olympian William S. Lawton of San Francisco holds the historic distinction of being the earliest known individual to appear in motion pictures. That human beings could be presented in vigorous action such as wrestling and somersaults with vitality and grace, "just as if it were all happening in real life," enabled the new medium, in time, to become theatrical entertainment and to bring to the screen the warmth and variety of stories and the great appeal of the dramatic arts.

Stanford felt that his life-motion photographs should be demonstrated abroad, and he prepared the way for Muybridge and the Zoogyroscope (now renamed the Zoopraxiscope) to visit Paris.³² The American marvel became a sensation, and its amazing power to project images traversing a screen in lifelike movement evoked wide comment in European salons.³³ This *réclame* on the Continent and in England apparently led Muybridge to assume that he alone could take credit for having produced this fascinating invention. Indeed, during the early stages of the work in California, he had patented in his own name the method and apparatus for photographing objects in motion.³⁴ Stanford had apparently raised no objection, following the policy he had set for his railroad men to patent any improvements they perfected while in his employ.³⁵

Meanwhile, however, Stanford had delegated the task of compiling a scientific analysis of the photographic phases of motion to Dr. J. D. B. Stillman, his original associate on the project. This detailed opus, *The Horse in Motion*, appeared in 1882. When Muybridge saw the book, he felt that he had not been given sufficient credit (a complaint not unknown in the movie world today). He unhappily commenced legal action, charging that Stanford had injured his professional reputation. Muybridge lost his case.³⁶

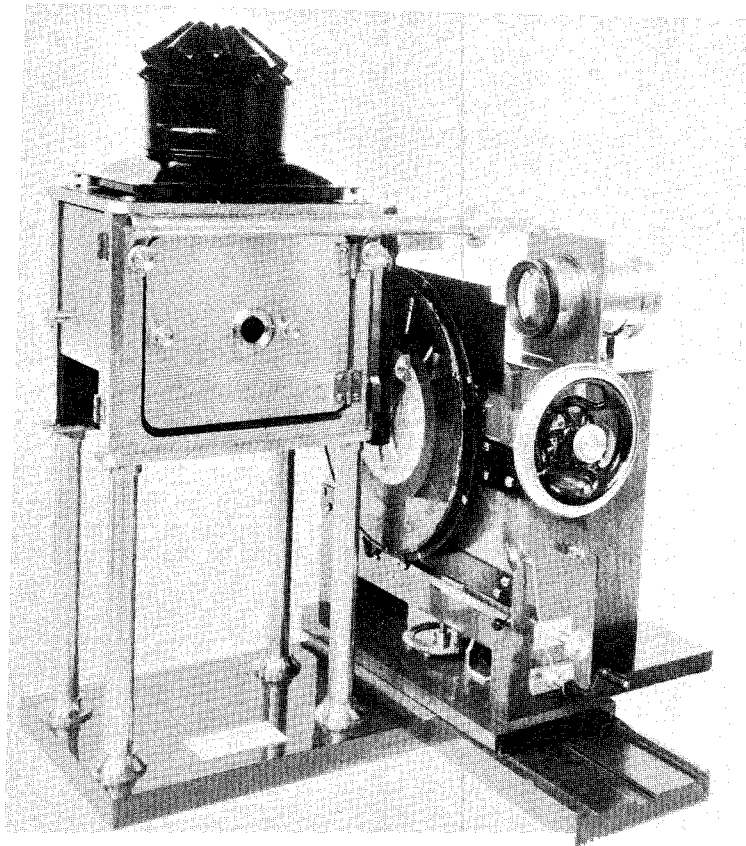
Despite the negative note on which the association ended, during its tenure Muybridge brought to the experiments an enthusiasm and energy that probably surpassed the potential of any other photographer in the West. His years of experience and outstanding artistry were balanced by Stanford's acumen and organizing powers. He operated the cameras at Palo Alto which took the earliest instantaneous photographs of rapid action and at San Francisco first projected motion pictures before the public. Muybridge's work, with that of the other assembled professionals and with an invaluable store of mechanical know-how available from Stanford himself,³⁷ spurred Edison to perfect in 1889 the Kinetoscope, another American advance crucial in the progress to make single-lens, high-speed cinematography a reality.³⁸

Histories of motion pictures tend to minimize Stanford's contribution because he did not consider the camera as more than a recording instrument or have as an objective the attainment of motion pictures as an entertainment medium. In many



The photo (above) shows the type of camera and, to the right, the back of an electro-shutter used in the experiments at Palo Alto. Prior to this the usual practice was simply to remove the lens cap by hand and then to recover the lens at the end of the exposure.

The Zoogyroscope, later called the Zoopraxiscope (right), projected the first public performance of cinematic motion pictures in San Francisco in 1880.



ways, however, his life was no less dramatic, nor less creative in its own way, than that of Muybridge.

Stanford was willing to risk great sums of money to improve photography which neither Muybridge nor any other photographer of the day could have commanded.³⁹ The costs of the experiments are estimated at \$40,000–\$50,000, not including the stock-farm trainers, horses, and equipment which might well multiply the costs by ten times. These facts may not be relevant in considerations of aesthetics, but they were cogent at Palo Alto one hundred years ago, they were crucial for filmmaker D. W. Griffith fifty years later, and they apply with equal weight to film makers today. Throughout history, art has often depended on the creative climate engendered by the rich. Pawnbrokers the Medicis were, yet their soul shines through Florentine culture.

The land with ample space and the best available light for the photographic experiments, the means to fabricate new forms plus the vast technology of a major railroad, the experience in engineering and in executive management (motion pictures are a group activity), and the intuitive wisdom to select the best men for the job—these were the contributions of Leland Stanford, together with the discipline and the persistence to overcome the frustrations and agony of creativity. He seized upon motion—one of the main thrusts of his age—and gave it dynamic expression.

By Pacific shores in a union of power, science, and art, Stanford, Isaacs, and Muybridge proved that the camera could capture photographs of rapidly-moving objects, projected sequential images cinematically, and represented action on the screen for audiences to witness. As a result, a mere sixteen years after the initial Zoogyroscope exhibition, commercial films were running on New York's Broadway.⁴⁰

Such is the history of the first exhibition of motion pictures. On that one spring evening in 1880 at the San Francisco Art Association, the image—no longer static—hesitated, then moved into the flowing and rhythmic marvel of life. When William S. Lawton poised to spring and when Stanford's racing horses flashed across the screen, they heralded a brilliant new language of communication and the first new art form since the Renaissance. The *picture that moved* changed man's vision of his world.

THE PORTRAIT of Eadweard Muybridge on page 126 is courtesy Robert B. Haas; the photo on page 126 (top), courtesy the Stanford Collection, Stanford University Museum of Art; and the photos on pages 130–131 and 135 (top), courtesy the Muybridge Collection, Stanford University Museum of Art. The photos on pages 132 (bottom) and 133 are from the exhibition *Eadweard Muybridge: The Stanford Years, 1872–1882*. The illustration on page 126 (bottom) is from the San Francisco History Room and Special Collections, San Francisco Public Library; the photo on page 135 (bottom) is courtesy the Royal Borough of Kingston upon Thames Museum and Art Gallery; and the portrait of Lawton on page 132 (top) is from the California Historical Society Collections.

NOTES

1. The San Francisco Art Association was then located at 430 Pine Street, between Montgomery and Kearny streets. Also at the same address was the Bohemian Club.
2. This event was reported in the May 5, 1880, editions of the *San Francisco Morning Call*, *Chronicle*, and *Alta California*.
3. *San Francisco Chronicle*, under "Amusements," May 6, 1880, and following days.
4. Described by Eadweard Muybridge, although a somewhat later version, in his Preface to *Animals in Motion* (London, 1899).
5. The camera itself was unwieldy and lacked accurate shutters. Each photograph involved a series of intricate manipulations, often in darkness, including: mixing a collodion emulsion just prior to each operation and applying it to the glass negative plate, exposing while the solution was tacky, and developing the negative immediately in a series of solutions. For exterior scenes, a darkroom tent and wet chemicals had to be transported to the site. And, the subject had to be motionless. See Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography*, 47-48 (New York, 1964); Helmut Gernsheim, *The History of Photography*, 151-65 (New York, 1955).
6. George T. Clark, *Leland Stanford*, 365 (Stanford, 1931); Norman E. Tutorow, *Leland Stanford: Man of Many Careers*, 172 (Menlo Park, 1971); H. C. Peterson, "The Birthplace of the Motion Picture," *Sunset*, November, 1915.
7. In addition to being the president of the Central Pacific Railroad, governor of California, and founder of Stanford University, Stanford was an attorney-at-law, twice a U.S. senator, and a warm friend of President Lincoln. Other activities included promoting a first Sacramento public library, the San Francisco California Street cable cars, the California wine industry, forest conservation, directing the foremost livestock stable of its day, and being the first individual to train animals by personalized methods. See Clark, *Stanford*, 189, 113, 389, 35, 426, 68, 341, 350, 353; Tutorow, *Stanford*, 56, 184-99.
8. Clark, *Stanford*, 341-63; Peterson, "Birthplace of the Motion Picture."
9. Stanford was joined by Dr. J. D. B. Stillman, A.M., M.D., and others. Stillman arrived in California during 1848 and published *Seeking the Golden Fleece* in 1877.
10. Notably by Etienne J. Marey. Gernsheim, *History*, 325.
11. B. E. Lloyd, *Lights and Shades in San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1876).
12. The panorama of San Francisco, c. 1878, in part, has been enlarged into a mural installed at the Wells Fargo Bank, 420 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, and may be viewed upon application to their History Room. Robert Bartlett Haas, "Eadweard Muybridge, 1830-1904," in exhibition catalogue *Eadweard Muybridge, the Stanford Years, 1872-1882*, pp. 11-17 (Stanford, 1972); Anita Ventura Mozley, "Photographs by Muybridge, 1872-1880," in same exhibition catalogue, 37-53; Mary V. Jessup Hood and Robert Bartlett Haas, "Eadweard Muybridge's Yosemite Valley Photographs, 1867-1872," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 42:5-26 (March, 1963); Alfred Frankenstein, "Surveys on the Beginnings of Film," *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 12, 1972, p. 53; Kenneth MacGowan, *Behind the Screen*, 47-52 (New York, 1965); Gernsheim, *History*, 325-26.
13. California Section collections, State Library, Sacramento.
14. Photographs of Muybridge at the peak of his career have been described as portraying Muybridge as looking somewhere between "Walt Whitman ready to play King Lear," and "God the Father in Blake's illustrations." MacGowan, *Behind the Screen*, 47; Gernsheim, *History*, 331.
15. Clark, *Stanford*, 342; Mozley, *Muybridge*, 8.
16. Eadweard Muybridge to Editor, *Alta California*, published August 2, 1877; Leland Stanford to Dr. J. D. B. Stillman, October 23, 1882, quoted in Clark, *Stanford*, 377.
17. Haas, *Muybridge*, 11; MacGowan, *Behind the Screen*, 46ff. When Muybridge delivered the album of photographs to Stanford in 1881, he wrote: "Herewith please find the photographs illustrating the attitudes of animals in motion executed by me according to your instructions at Palo Alto in 1878 and 1879" Clark, *Stanford*, 370.
18. Muybridge, quoted in Clark, *Stanford*, 366.

19. *Calistoga Free Press*, October 24, 1874; *Napa Daily Register*, February 6, 1875. During his enforced absence, Muybridge produced a series of remarkable views of Central America. Mozley, *Muybridge*, 55-59.
20. *San Francisco Evening Post*, August 3, 1877; Clark, *Stanford*, 366.
21. Light-sensitive, dry roll flexible film, capable of rapid transport, had yet to be invented; it was still necessary to align each separate glass negative plate within an equal number of separate cameras. J. D. B. Stillman, Appendix to *The Horse in Motion*, 124-26 (Boston, 1882); Walter R. Miles, "Leland Stanford and Motion Pictures," *Stanford Illustrated Review*, June, 1929, p. 469-72; Gernsheim, *History*, 327-28; Haas, *Muybridge*, 21-24; Clark, *Stanford*, 367.
22. Beaumont Newhall, "Muybridge and the First Motion Picture," *U.S. Camera—1957*, p. 239-39; Mozley, *Muybridge*, 69.
23. *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 5, 1880; Stillman, *Horse in Motion*, 125.
24. Hilton Kramer, "Muybridge, A Pioneer in Photography," *New York Times*, May 11, 1973, p. 24.
25. Edward Weston, "Photographic Art," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 17, 1971, p. 943.
26. Françoise Forster-Hahn, "Marey, Muybridge, and Meissonier," in catalog *Muybridge*, 85-106.
27. The eminent Parisian artist Meissonier was one of the first to alter his equestrian and historic paintings. Even more directly influenced were illustrators for periodicals throughout the world.
28. C. W. Ceram, *Archaeology of the Cinema*, 9-140 (New York, 1965); Arthur Knight, "Motion Pictures, I—History," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 15, 1971, pp. 898-899; Gernsheim, *History*, 328-29; Martin Quigley, *Magic Shadows*, 98-117 (New York, 1960).
29. Gernsheim, *History*, 328.
30. Haas, *Muybridge*, 25-26; Mozley, *Muybridge*, 71-72; Gernsheim, *History*, 329. Other experimental motion and projection devices of the day were similarly emblazoned with fashionable classically-derived names: Anorthoscope, Thaumatrope, Phenakistiscope, Phantasmagoria, Thaumatrope, Stroboscope, Daedelum, Praxinoscope, Chromotrope, and, of course, the Zoetrope. Ceram, *Archaeology*, 13-73; Gernsheim, *History*, 328; Mozley, *Muybridge*, 72-73; MacGowan, *Behind the Screen*, 30-47.
31. September 2, 1889, from files of Eastman Kodak Company, Rochester, New York.
32. *The History of the Olympic Club* (San Francisco, 1893). W. S. Lawton, a charter member of the Olympic Club, founded in 1860, is referred to as one of the club's finest all-around gymnasts. His name appears in the San Francisco city directories until 1887.
33. *Scientific American Supplement*, January 28, 1882; Haas, *Muybridge*, 26; Miles, "Stanford and Motion Pictures," 470.
34. Forester-Hahn, *Muybridge*, 85-106; Gernsheim, *History*, 329-330.
35. U.S. Patent Office numbers 212,864, and 212,865 of March 4, 1879.
36. Clark, *Stanford*, 367.
37. Leland Stanford to Dr. Stillman, October 23, 1882, quoted in Clark, *Stanford*, 277. Muybridge also commenced a suit by attachment on the books against Osgood, Stanford's publisher. While in the United States he had initiated other suits against American firms, including a stage-coach company and a steamship company. Newhall, *Camera*, 235; Peterson, *Sunset*, November, 1915.
38. Muybridge later found another American to finance his projects and for the remainder of his life continued on a more elaborate scale the momentum originated at Palo Alto. Stanford considered Muybridge to be the instrument who carried out his ideas, but Stanford's attention was elsewhere. He was by then dedicated to providing a foundation for higher education in California.
39. Other associates were the chief engineer of the Central Pacific Railroad, Mr. S. Montague, and Arthur Brown, also from the railroad, as well as electrical experts Sieler and Tiffany. Haas, *Muybridge*, 21-22.
40. The history of the long series of inventions, with all the claims and counterclaims, is complex in the extreme. See Knight, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 15, 898ff; Ceram, *Archaeology*, 13-1921; Gernsheim, *History*, 227-332; MacGowan, *Behind the Screen*, 53-84.
41. Forester-Hahn, *Muybridge*, 107; Tutorow, *Stanford*, 168; Haas, *Stanford*, 24.
42. The first projection of motion picture films in the United States as theatrical entertainment took place at Koster & Bial's Music Hall, 34th Street West of Broadway, New York, on April 23, 1896.

California's Pioneer Wine Families

JULIUS L. JACOBS

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on winegrowing and wine production trends in California*

IN THE COURSE OF CREATING A NEW STATE, adjusting to the influx of settlers, and discovering sources of natural wealth, early-day Californians chanced upon another most valuable and enjoyable resource—wine. Viticulture, or the cultivation of the vine, and enology, or the making of wine, emerged from the primitive days of the Franciscan fathers to become one of the state's dominant agricultural pursuits in the mid-nineteenth century. The industry continued its gains in the twentieth century, although it suffered an enormous setback with the advent of Prohibition. Following Repeal in 1933, winegrowing in California regained its status and has emerged today as a multi-billion dollar agricultural occupation.

Since the days prior to and immediately following the Civil War, a small, hardy cluster of winegrowing families has persevered in the cultivation of grapes and production of wine. The roster of families already in the wine business by the 1840's and those who entered into this exacting and hazardous trade by the 1880's is small. The number whose descendants still farm the land and crush the grapes is minuscule: the Biances, the Mirassous, the Wentes, and the Concannons. To be sure, a number of other familiar wineries boast of vineyards and bonded wine facilities going back a century or longer, but these have long since passed from the hands of their original founders and owners. Thus, it is significant to retrace the backgrounds, experiences, and development of the basic quartet of wine-makers still perpetuating and developing its vintner skills into the fourth and fifth generations and to determine how and why they have managed to survive and prosper. The dynamism that marked the entry of California into the national and international wine scene exists today in a strong and more durable framework, thanks to these early-day grape growers and vintners. If anything, the wine excitement has been accentuated; scores of picturesque new wineries, large and small, have entered the ranks, and they are staffed by dedicated people who love the land, love wine, and are willing to accept the risks in order to become part of the winegrowing fraternity.

NOTE: The author acknowledges a large debt of gratitude to Dr. Irving McKee, who in the 1940's and early 1950's conducted exhaustive research into the history and development of the state's wine pioneers and wine industry. Many of McKee's important articles have been reprinted by the Wine Institute, San Francisco. Paul Fredericksen's comprehensive research study for the Wine Advisory Board, "The Authentic Haraszthy Story," originally published in *Wines and Vines*, August, 1947, is another important work for the study of California wine production.

The history of winegrowing in California began in the eighteenth century with the Franciscan fathers who first made wine at the string of missions established from the southerly settlement of San Diego in 1769 to the northernmost Sonoma mission in the 1820's. Unfortunately, their wines were not good wines. They were made with the Mission grape, an inferior specimen believed to have been first brought north by Father Junípero Serra. It had been grown for a lengthy period in Mexico, and when transplanted to the California missions, it produced a harsh, probably unpleasant wine. It was used primarily in sacramental services and to assuage the thirst of the early travellers.

Following upon the experimental efforts of the Franciscans, commercial wine-making in California probably began in the tiny Los Angeles pueblo between 1824 and 1826. The Spanish authorities abandoned expansion of the missions along the El Camino Real and secularized them in the 1820's and 1830's. At the time of secularization, there were said to be at least 100,000 grapevines growing in what is now Los Angeles.

Joseph Chapman, an ambitious vineyardist, is regarded as California's earliest wine pioneer, and he is the most identifiable figure in the post-mission wine trade.¹ Friend of Padre Sánchez and a jack-of-all-trades, Chapman set out 4,000 vines in the southern pueblo of Los Angeles. When he moved to Santa Barbara in 1836, his reputation as the first American winegrower in California was already secure. His planting originally had taken place in 1824-1826, with the first vintage probably in 1827. Others soon followed: Frenchman Louis Bouchet in 1829, then William Logan, Richard Laughlin, and William Chard in the early 1830's.² By 1831 there were declared to be about 100 acres planted in the Los Angeles area.

The most important figure in early-day California viticulture was Jean Louis Vignes, a Frenchman from Bordeaux. He, rather than Chapman, has been described by some as California's pioneer winegrower, for his debut onto the California wine scene in 1831 occurred just sixty-two years after the arrival of the Spanish Franciscans.³ Trained as a distiller and cooper, Vignes emigrated to the United States and settled in the Los Angeles pueblo. Within two years he set out his vineyard, joining at least four or five other ambitious vineyardists in this same region. His own plot consisted of 104 acres west of the river in what is now the heart of downtown Los Angeles. Up to this time only the Mission-grape variety had been cultivated in California, because this was the variety planted by the mission fathers. (This was the Mexican Criolla type of grape which had become known as the Mission in California.)⁴ The grape made a thin, rather harsh wine and was soon to be superseded by much better varieties. Vignes was probably the first settler to import cuttings of European varieties. He also was the first to speculate on a great future in California for wines and for citrus fruits, as well. Vignes' friend, wine merchant William Heath Davis, wrote about him as early as 1833 that "he imported cuttings of different varieties of grapes in small quantity, which were then put up with great care and sent from France to Boston, thence to the coast by vessels trading here, to be experimented with in wine producing. I regard him as the pioneer not only in winemaking but in orange cultivation, he being the first to raise oranges in Los Angeles and to establish a vineyard of any pretensions."⁵ While the exact year of Vignes' first vintage can only

be speculated upon, it must have been by 1837, for an 1857 advertisement for some of his vintages reported them to be twenty years old. Davis recorded as well that the vineyardist-vintner had written friends in France about the great potential for winegrowing in California and predicted that the state would have a wine industry equal to that of France in quality and quantity and including wines of all types and styles.

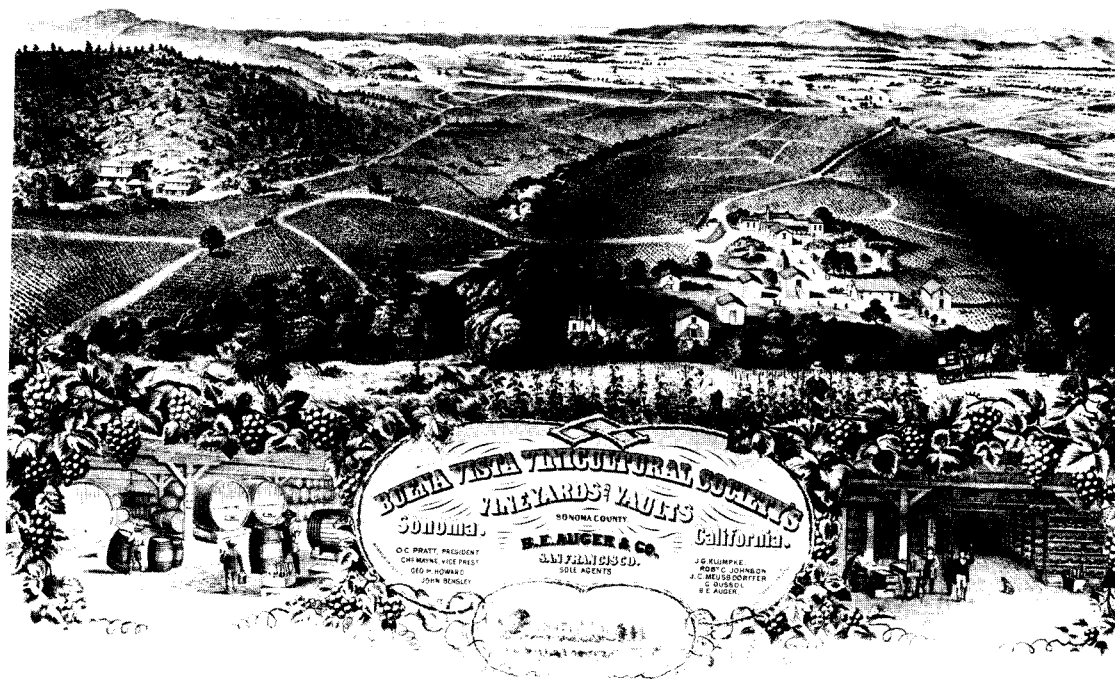
In addition to Vignes' experimental efforts, he successfully induced other Frenchmen to travel to the Far West. In fact, he influenced at least eight of his own relatives to emigrate to California, including Pierre Sainsevain from the Bordeaux region, who joined his uncle in 1839. Young Sainsevain, age twenty-one, played a vital role in the continuity of the early-day California wine industry. He wrote that he found in his uncle's vineyard some 40,000 vines, a good wine cellar, and some sturdy casks. Vignes had named his property the Aliso Vineyard, after a sycamore tree near the entrance. The winery soon became well-known throughout Southern California, and eleven years later Sainsevain also gained recognition. He loaded a sailing vessel, the *Monsoon*, with Vignes' brandies and wines and embarked for Monterey and San Francisco by way of Santa Barbara. He found a good market for the cargo, obtaining \$2 a gallon for the white wines and \$4 a gallon for brandy. This was the first known shipment of California wines over any considerable distance.⁶

By the year 1843 Vignes had become the most widely known winegrower in California, and his production reached 40,000 gallons a year. While entertaining Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones, who became prominent during the conquest of California some years later, Vignes presented the commodore and his officers with a variety of his wines, some aged as long as eight to ten years. (There is a tale to the effect that the vintner also presented Commodore Jones with a gift of wines to be taken to President Tyler at the White House, but there is no record to confirm that "several barrels of choice wines" were ever received by the president). Thanks to the diligence and hard work of Vignes and his fellow vintners in the 1840's and early 1850's, Los Angeles became the major region for California winegrowing, its production having been recorded as 57,355 gallons in the United States Census of 1850.⁷ At that time the nearest competitor in wine production was Guernsey County, Ohio, with 35,000 gallons.

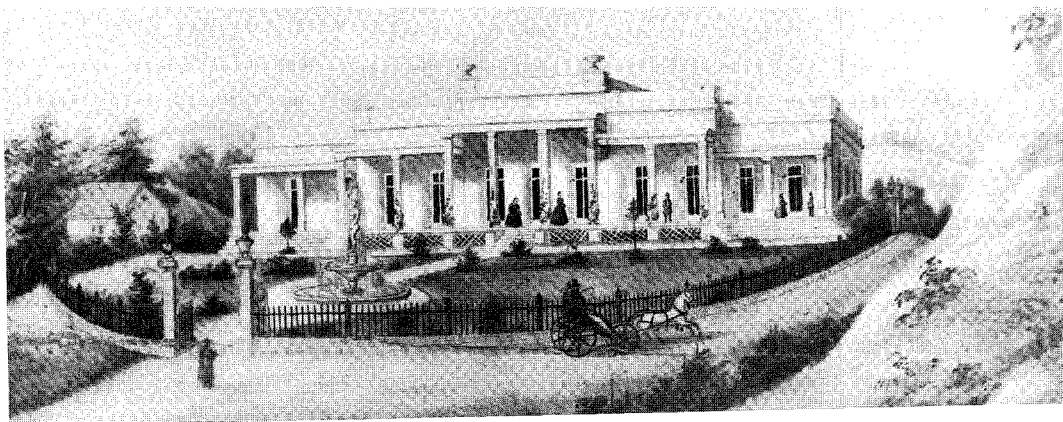
Two other wine pioneers furthered the development of the California wine industry and enhanced the progress recorded by Chapman and Vignes in the

This little building in the rear of Mission San Gabriel housed the first winery in California. As early as 1771, padres trained neophytes to produce sacramental wine from mission grapes.





Colonel Agoston Haraszthy (left) ranks of major importance in establishing the state's wine industry for proving the value of imported grape cuttings and the feasibility of growing them on unirrigated land in the Sonoma region. In the 1850's Haraszthy named his white Italianate villa (opposite page, top) and vineyards Buena Vista and induced friends and neighbors to embark on the experimental venture of producing fine wines. Buena Vista wines, brandy, and even some vinegar, publicized (above) in the bird's eye lithographic view, were distributed to the growing San Francisco market.



General Don Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, the first non-clerical wine grower in the Sonoma Valley, dominated Northern California wine producing for the quarter-century period, 1834-1859, until Haraszthy entered the friendly competition cemented by the marriage of Haraszthy's two sons and Vallejo's two daughters.



establishment of commercial vineyards. One was General Don Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo; the other was his companion and enthusiastic winegrower, Agoston Haraszthy, a Hungarian nobleman. General Vallejo was the first non-clerical winegrower in the Sonoma Valley, and he dominated Northern California wine production for the quarter-century period, 1834-1859. The first cultivated vines of this region had been planted by Padre José Altimira in 1824, one year after he founded the Sonoma mission. Several years later when his mission and others were appropriated by the Mexican government, both the vineyards and their wineries fell into decrepitude.⁸

General Vallejo at the age of twenty-six was already the commandante of the California army and the second most important figure in the Mexican state. At the order of the governor, Vallejo laid out the pueblo of Sonoma. Several of the original buildings—a two-story military barracks, small residences, and the Sonoma mission itself—may still be visited today. It was here that the general acquired what was left of the ruined missionary vineyards. Under his vigilant eye

the vineyards were replanted, and by 1839 wine once again was being produced in this new region of California. General Vallejo's power and influence grew; by 1843 he possessed a huge Mexican grant of 80,000 acres on the shores of Suisun and San Pablo bays, in addition to other lands around Petaluma and Sonoma. He now personally owned more than 150,000 acres, much of which was unusable. Some land was devoted to grazing cattle and other to raising crops, but the general never lost sight of his vineyards which yielded him \$20,000 annually.

Only one man constituted any sort of "threat" to Vallejo's winegrowing supremacy in the following decade. He was Colonel Haraszthy, a figure destined to gain a lasting reputation as the "father of California's modern wine industry." Agoston Haraszthy, who came to California in 1849 at the age of thirty-seven, joined Vallejo in friendly competition in the Sonoma region in 1854. The trail of the Hungarian wanderer had led from his native land to Sauk City, Wisconsin, and in 1851 he imported vines from Hungary to San Diego. One year later he moved to Northern California and transplanted his precious vines to the Crystal Springs region in the foothills of what is today San Mateo County. (Haraszthy had become a member of the state legislature and lived in San Francisco.) His next step was to acquire 200 acres of land near the Mission Dolores, where he planted Zinfandel vines along with the Muscat of Alexandria, a grape variety imported from Malaga. Although the Zinfandel grapes were said to have come from the colonel's native Hungary, viticulturists today are uncertain about the origin of this excellent grape variety. There is evidence that the variety existed in California prior to its planting by Haraszthy.⁹

Haraszthy was a restless man. Within a few years he purchased the Kelsey vineyard in Sonoma, made this his home, and soon gained a wide reputation as a vineyardist and winemaker. Until this time his efforts in this new venture had been largely experimental. Now, however, Haraszthy began the systematic and steady acquisition of imported varieties which was destined to make him the leading wine figure of his time. He proved the value of imported grape cuttings and illustrated the feasibility of growing them on non-irrigated vineyards in this section of California. With customary energy, and the aid of his sons, Attila and Arpad, Haraszthy planted 80,000 vines on 140 acres of land east of Sonoma in a single year—13,000 vines on his own property and 67,000 vines on property which belonged to friends and neighbors, many of whom he had induced to settle around him. Among those who came to the area in that year, 1857, or in later years were early-day vineyardists including Colonel A. J. Butler, Major J. R. Snyder, Charles Krug, Emil Dresel, Jacob Gundlach, and George Wratten. Under the colonel's leadership, this group experimented boldly, and their success complemented Haraszthy's efforts.¹⁰ Haraszthy built a handsome white Italianate villa with formal gardens and called his new residence and vineyard Buena Vista.

For the next quarter-century the history of California wine was intertwined with that of the Haraszthy family—the colonel and later with his two sons Arpad and Attila, both of whom became active in the industry. In 1857 Haraszthy dug his first stone cellar on his Buena Vista property, an excavation reported by the *Santa Rosa Democrat* as . . . "a tunnel, 100 feet deep, made in a hillside."¹¹ The Haraszthys also produced 6,500 gallons of wine, a quantity of brandy, and even some vinegar, for which a good market existed in nearby San Francisco.

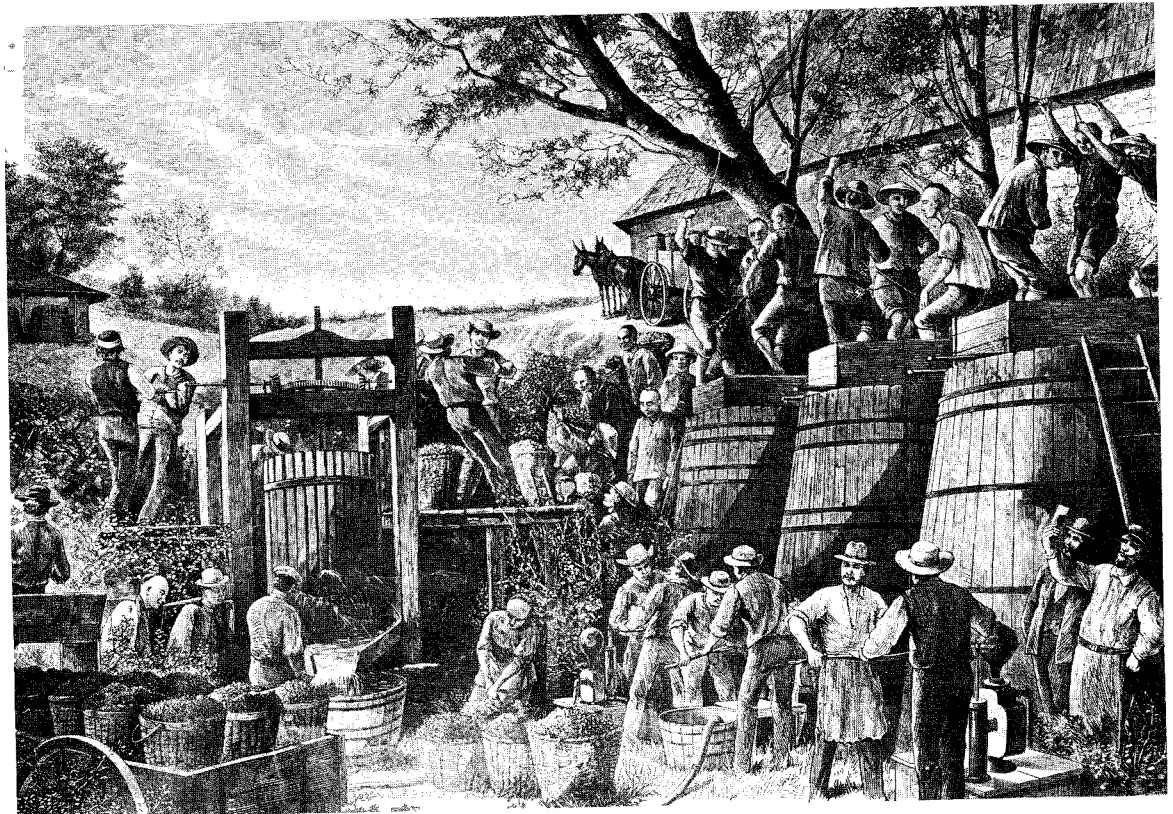
Colonel Haraszthy also continued to import grape cuttings from Europe, and his fame spread. Receiving a request from the California Agricultural Society to write an article on growing grapes and wine, he completed his "Report on Grapes and Wine in California," which was printed and circulated by the society in 1859. The article launched a new cycle of grape plantings in other districts. By the end of 1858 Haraszthy himself claimed 158 different varieties of grape cuttings at Buena Vista, and he offered many cuttings and rooted vines for sale.

Annual competition in wines had developed at the State Fair, and when the Haraszthy wines were entered, they captured first place.¹² Somewhat unusual in the Hungarian settler's operations was his employment of Chinese laborers to work his vineyards and winery, a practice which soon became common in the Sonoma area. It is reported that the deep tunnels used today at Buena Vista Winery were dug by these same Chinese laborers.

Colonel Haraszthy bore the title of count (although the origins of his noble Hungarian lineage are shrouded in mystery) and became a close friend and confidante of General Vallejo in their mutual vineyard enterprises. Making their friendship even more apparent was a double marriage ceremony in 1863 wherein Haraszthy's two sons married two of General Vallejo's daughters, Natalia and Jovita. The ceremony occurred at Lachryma Montis, the Vallejo mansion. The rivalry between the two gentlemen concerning their respective winemaking abilities continued, however, and in 1851 Vallejo scored when his red and white table wines captured five first-place awards at the State Fair.

The climax of Haraszthy's career came in 1861 when the colonel was named by Governor John G. Downey to visit Europe as a special agricultural commissioner

In this 1878 lithograph Chinese laborers are producing Sonoma wines.



for California. He was assigned to study and learn all he could about grape growing and wine production in Europe and to report back to the state legislature all the knowledge he gained for the benefit of the grape and winegrowing industry. Ironically, Haraszthy paid all of the costs for his trip, unsuccessfully petitioning for reimbursement in the amount of \$12,000 for grape cuttings acquired and brought to California. (A senate committee on agriculture in 1862 divided three to two in a vote over the issue of repayment, and restitution was denied.)

Reporting to the governor in February, 1862, about his new information and activities, Haraszthy advised, "I have taken charge of the grapevines and fruit trees arrived from Europe . . . am at present occupied in making hotbeds and planting the more exquisite varieties in pots . . . we have a large number of cuttings which I am planting in open air for rooting, confident that if no extraordinary event happens there will be 300,000 rooted vines ready for distribution next Fall."¹³ His report to the legislature is optimistic about wine growing conditions in California; he maintained, in fact, that "California is superior in all the conditions of soil, climate and other natural advantages to the most favored wine producing regions of Europe." True to his optimism, he claimed he had purchased about 10,000 vines of approximately 1,400 varieties, eliminated duplicate vines, and reduced the number of varieties to 300. He also acquired other fruits and brought back choice selections of almonds, olives, oranges, figs, lemons, and others, to be propagated by grafting.

While Haraszthy lost his battle for distribution of cuttings to all parts of the state and for reimbursement for his expenses, his trip to Europe was a success, and from the standpoint of modern agricultural history marked a turning point in the state's grape and wine industry. Although rebuffed by the senate committee in 1862, just a week later the innovative Haraszthy became the president of the State Agricultural Society. In the years following, the energetic wine enthusiast continued propagating the best vines and travelled broadly throughout California to discuss grape growing methods and to amplify his views concerning the best regions for planting vines. His book, *Grape Culture, Wines and Wine-Making, with Notes upon Agriculture and Horticulture*, appeared in 1862 and acted as an incentive for others interested in grapes and wines. Further, his busy and active career marked a coming of age for California viticulture. New vineyards were established in both southern and northern sections of California. Improved varieties took hold, and as agriculture became better established as a way of life, hundreds of vineyardists began cultivation of vines and processing of grapes. Of great assistance in later years of the nineteenth century was the University of California's extensive experimentation under the banner of the college of agriculture, later to become the viticulture and enology department of the university based at Davis.

The early efforts of Chapman, Vignes, Sainsevain, Vallejo, Haraszthy, and numerous other early-day pioneers such as George Yount (for whom Yountville was named) attracted new names and faces to the prospects of success in the Napa and Livermore valleys, the Santa Clara region, the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys, the Santa Cruz area—and even the foothills of the Sierra Nevada. One result of the Gold Rush period and its aftermath was the rapid influx of knowledgeable Europeans, particularly to Northern California, many of whom brought

skills in establishing vineyards and producing good wine. Prices remained high, and the state legislature encouraged the industry in its fledgling years by exempting new vineyards from taxes.¹⁴

Almost 150 years after the beginnings of commercial winegrowing in California, a select number of families still remain in business whose proud wine roots go back as far as the early 1830-1880's period. One Southern California family now boasts the fifth generation of winemakers active in the production of wine, while in three Northern California families the third and fourth generation either manage the wineries and vineyards or are being groomed to take over the responsibilities. According to Philo Biane, the Vaché family (from which the Biane family descended) arrived in Southern California in 1832; the Mirassou, Wenté, and Concannon families set up operations in Northern California's Santa Clara and Livermore valleys in the decades which followed.

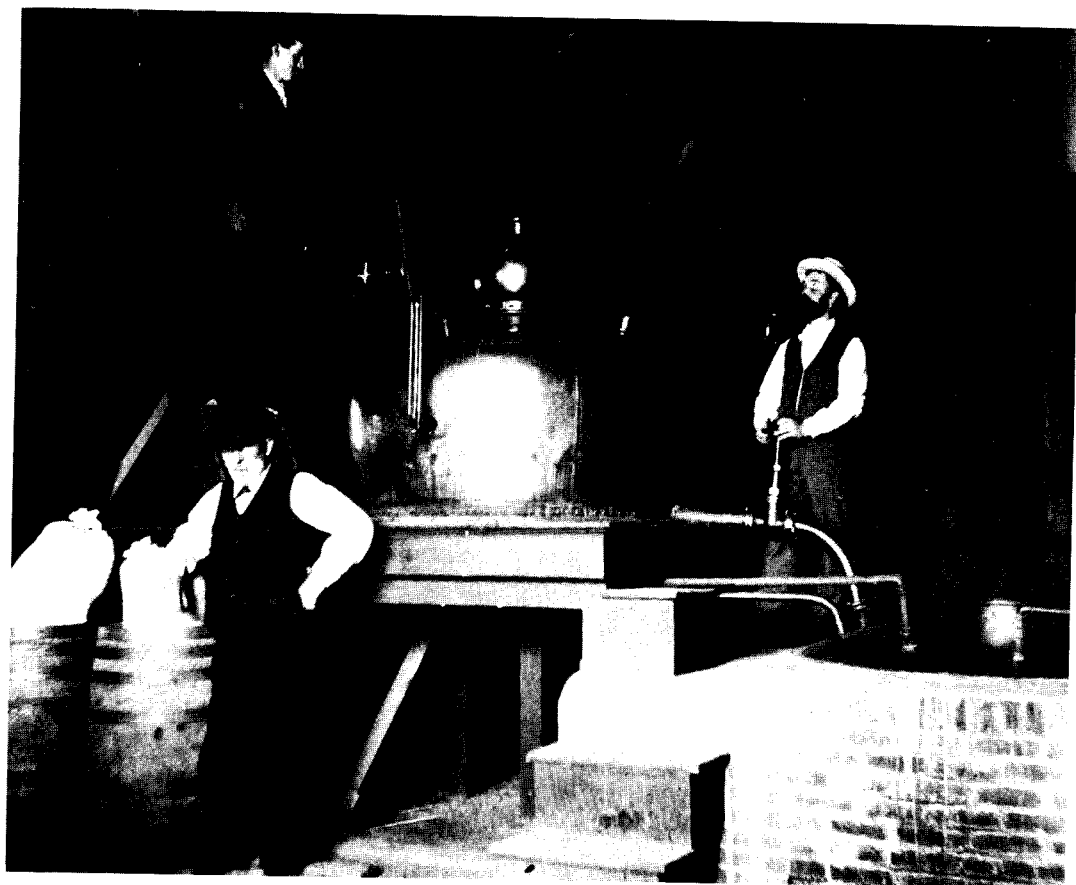
Lured by the promise of wealth in the New World, Theophile Vaché, owner of vineyards and a winery on the Isle of Oléron off the Bordeaux coast, sailed around the Horn to California. He established a wine business and planted the historic Valliant Vineyards near San Juan Bautista. Three nephews later joined Vaché, Adolphe, Emile, and Theophile II. Impressed by the wine activity in Southern California, they utilized the resources they had brought from their winegrowing ventures in France and established themselves as vintners in Los Angeles and Redlands, forming a family-owned wholesale, retail, and brandy business. Years of winegrowing and winemaking had already been logged when the family opened a winery at the corner of Commercial and Alameda streets in Los Angeles in 1860.

The patriarch of the Biane Family, Philo Biane, recently described the continuity of the Vaché-Biane winegrowing history in an oral history interview:

The brothers decided to go to San Bernardino and Redlands to plant their vineyards; and the first year of operation there they operated at Dr. (Benjamin) Barton's winery in southeast San Bernardino, in the year 1882. And then, by the year 1883, the winery at Brookside was completed and that was the first vintage year at Redlands. That winery continued under the direction of Emile Vaché. This is where my father, Marius Biane, came into the picture as an employee of the Vaches. He came from the town of Auch, France. He went to school for a year, then worked at the winery. After he became part owner he married my mother, who was Marceline Vaché. Dad, being a young, energetic and able man from France, and also from the wine business in France, soon took over the operation of the winery at Brookside and continued to operate there until 1916, which was about the time Prohibition was voted in on a local level.¹⁵

Once Theophile, the founder, had seen to it that his nephews had successfully established themselves, he returned to France, sometime in the late 1850's or early 1860's.

The family remaining on the Ile d'Oléron continued to operate a winery, a concentration plant, and a vinegar facility. In California Emile continued his management, taking in Marius Biane upon his arrival from France in 1892. When a local prohibition ordinance halted winemaking, there occurred a hiatus in the winery's production, and the plant was dismantled, but Marius Biane simply moved to the nearby Cucamonga area where there was no Prohibition ordinance. There he ran a vineyard and winery owned by the firm of Post & Klusman (John H. Klusman) and later, when the winery was sold, Biane and his son Philo went

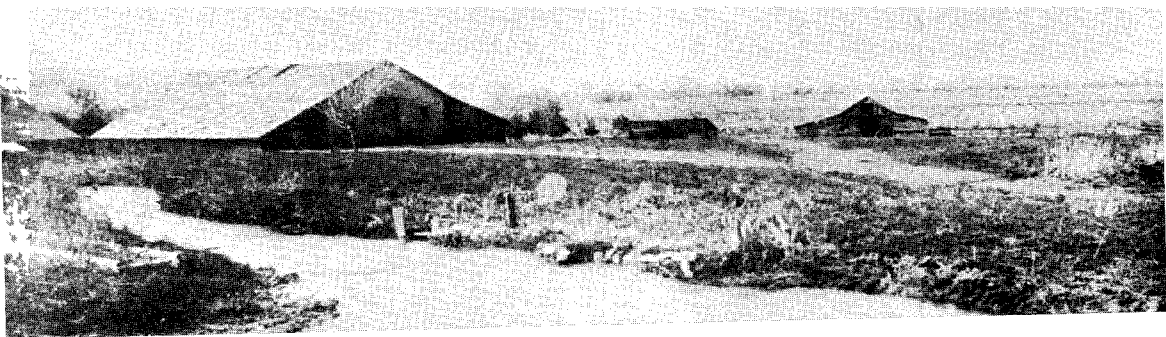


to work for another winery, the Cucamonga Growers (Cooperative) Winery, where the elder Biane was president and another brother, Francois Biane, production manager.¹⁶

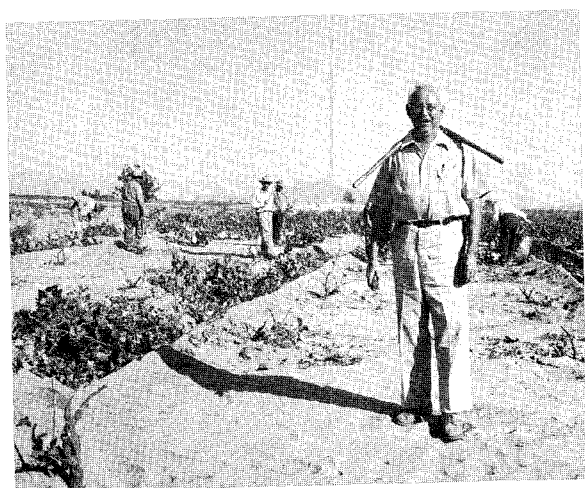
The advent of Prohibition brought change to wine ownerships and cooperative wine ventures. In the latter part of 1916 when Marius Biane moved to Cucamonga, he invested in vineyard property. His son Philo became associated with Fruit Industries, which was comprised of a number of wineries operating throughout California. This organization, according to Philo, was “born of necessity in trying to find utilization (during Prohibition) for the wine grapes in California, rather than just let them hang on the vine with no use.”¹⁷ It was a unique nationwide marketing effort designed for the Prohibition era and an ingenious system designed to circumvent the entire destruction of the state’s vineyards and the grape crop. Grapes were squeezed and the juice made into concentrate, thereby keeping the fruit in a fresh form without fermentation taking place.

As Philo Biane recalled,

Later during the year, when a use for this concentrate was found, it could be ‘cut’ with water and converted to wine. The method of doing this was to sell the product throughout the United States in the way of wine; however, it would be delivered to the consumer’s home in concentrated form in a barrel, then water added at the home and inoculated with yeast, and fermentation would take place and develop the reconstituted grape juice into wine. The concentrates were blended beforehand from various varieties of grapes to produce the different types of wine one might desire. A serviceman would come to the house and rack that juice off the barrel and filter it and bottle it for



Frenchman Theophile Vaché and his nephews Adolphe, Emile (opposite page, foreground), and Theophile, Jr., established the Southern California winery in Redlands (above) in the early 1880's. Marius Biane (on ladder next to the pot still for producing brandy) soon joined the operation.



A wine-trained Frenchman who took over Brookside operations and married into the Vaché family, Marius Biane (right, photo c.1946) carried on the Brookside tradition.

you in your home, and you had wine. Whatever you may have ordered—Port, Muscatel, Sherry, or Burgundy or Sauterne. This was a nationwide marketing effort, and it was successful because the wines produced were excellent.¹⁸

The stratagem of Fruit Industries was entirely legal. In fact, the government loaned the new California organization funds to produce the fruit juice concentrate. During Prohibition, federal law allowed each head of a family to make 200 gallons of wine for home use each year, and this was the basis for the manufacture and sale of concentrates.

With an eye to Repeal, however, the Biane family maintained its vineyard holdings during Prohibition and continued to do so after Repeal. When Philo ended his years of service with other wine companies, he once again constructed a family winery at Brookside, close to the acreage planted in his vineyards. Still active were the elder Biane, Marius, and brother, François, who was winemaker and superintendent of the winery. The Biances purchased an altar wine label from a winery in Guasti and with it the diocese bishop's approval to enter into the sacramental wine business.¹⁹ In 1954, after grape growers of the area sold their grapes to the Biances, Brookside became a cooperative winery where purchased grapes were taken into a "pool" and the growers compensated for their fruit at the end of the harvest season when prices became known. With the acquisition of a Guasti

wine label, the Biances not only utilized the Brookside label but also a clerical label—"Assumption Abbey."

Seeking to expand their operations after World War II and realizing that tradition and past practices alone would not insure successful operations in a rapidly changing and expanding market, the Biane family began urging their customers to learn more about wines by tasting them prior to purchase. This led to their decision to establish branch-winery sales, a major contribution to California wine marketing concepts. Today this concept is basic to the Brookside-Biane enterprises in California and Arizona and has been incorporated by other wine companies. The premise of the approach is that wine sampling in a suitable atmosphere prior to selection leads to more buyer confidence in the wine; it is the hospitable concept of wine tastings carried to its logical conclusion. Over the years it has led Brookside to the largest operation of its kind in the United States—thirty retail outlets, twenty-eight of them in California and two in Arizona, with more in the planning stage. In order to extend the branch-winery tasting room concept, the Biane family purchased the Mills Winery outlets in Northern California in the late 1960's.

Bonded Wine Cellar 141 is the Biane's Guasti, California, property, a venerable old structure with three-foot-thick walls housing what has been described as the largest underground aging cellars in the country and blending and bottling facilities, laboratories, and a wine museum. Four miles away at Cucamonga a second winery, the Pierre Biane winery, is also devoted to winemaking and storage. A third wine cellar in this same district is utilized in the production of sherries, champagnes, and other special varieties.

Despite the Biane family's sustained interest in winegrowing, the Brookside interests were merged with Beatrice Foods organization of Chicago in the early 1970's. According to Philo Biane: "Brookside merged with Beatrice through an exchange of stock. Brookside is a subsidiary . . . this makes us have our own board of directors and control our own destiny. At the present time, I am chairman, my son Pierre is president, my other son Michael is vice-president in charge of sales, and my nephew René vice-president in charge of production . . . which definitely retains the company in the hands of the Biances."²⁰ A Biane daughter is also an official of the wine organization.

To escape the increasing urbanization in the Cucamonga-Guasti region, the Biances decided to diversify their land holdings. To carry this out they planted extensive vineyards in the Rancho California area, one of California's new winegrowing sectors near San Diego. Hundreds of acres have been planted. Biane believes that the Rancho properties may eventually support 3,000 acres of grapevines. Among the varietal grapes planted in this coastal region are Cabernet Sauvignon, Pinot Noir, Johannisberg Riesling, Pinot Chardonnay, Chenin Blanc, Gamay Beaujolais, and Zinfandel. An additional sixty-five acres of experimental vineyards have been set out to test new varieties.

The philosophy of a family long in the industry has been summed up by the sixty-six-year-old head of the family as follows: "The wine business of the United States—not only California's but *all* the wine business of all the states making wine—has now moved into its rightful position of being a very honorable profession, and not only that, one that is looked upon with envy because it is a

profession that lends itself to the dignity of man. We are using things that are made available to us—the grapes, the sunshine, the water . . . you create something from this that is enjoyed by the masses. It is gratifying.”

While Theophile Vaché was establishing his original Valliant Vineyards near the little sheep grazing settlement at Hollister, not more than seventy miles away another transplanted Frenchman began his life-long rendezvous with California wines. He was Pierre Pellier, a young man from the LaRochelle region of France who came to California to make his fortune in the Gold Rush, but became the progenitor of still another wine dynasty in the coastal foothills of the state. The Pellier story began in the winter of 1848 when Pellier's brother Louis first arrived in California. He had been a fruit grower and vineyardist in the Charente district. Within two years he wandered from the crowded goldfields to San Jose, and there, in October, 1850, he purchased a tract of land which he named City Gardens. At the urging of Louis, brother Pierre arrived in California in 1850 with a third brother, Jean, to join the family's farming ventures. Louis set out gardens and a nursery in the new location and soon won renown for the quality of his fruit trees and his vineyards. With typical foresight, Pierre had brought with him from France cuttings of such varieties as Fountainbleau, Madeleine, Chasselas, and Black Burgundy. Sons of capable French farmers with generations of experience on the land, the Pellier brothers saw the inherent possibilities of orchards and vineyards in the fertile Santa Clara region.

The Pellier brothers prospered in their farming enterprise, but they soon realized that the grapes they were growing in the vineyards at the southern end of San Francisco Bay would never yield the finest wines. In 1854 Pierre Pellier decided to return to France and bring back with him superior grape cuttings. This effort was a major one which took two years to complete, but when young Pellier returned he brought not only a new wealth of grape varieties, but a new French bride as well. Stories conflict about the route back to California: one account has the newlyweds returning by way of Cape Horn, while another account spoke of a return by the Isthmus of Panama. More than a century later the family treasures an anecdote displaying the resourcefulness of Pierre Pellier during an arduous six month's journey by sea. Apparently, the water supply on his small vessel was nearly exhausted, and it appeared that the choice cuttings would be lost. In desperation Pellier negotiated with the captain of the vessel to buy up all the cargo of potatoes in the hold of the ship. This having been accomplished, the clever Pellier slit the potato ends and inserted the cuttings into them, keeping them alive with their precious moisture and saving two years' effort.²¹ These vines, according to the family diaries, survived the trip and became the nucleus for some hundreds of acres of vineyards cultivated by the succeeding family still in the wine business today—the Mirassou family. Pierre is also credited with having brought back with him from France the special variety—Le Petite d'Agen, a little French prune—which marked the beginnings of a very large agricultural industry in the Santa Clara region.

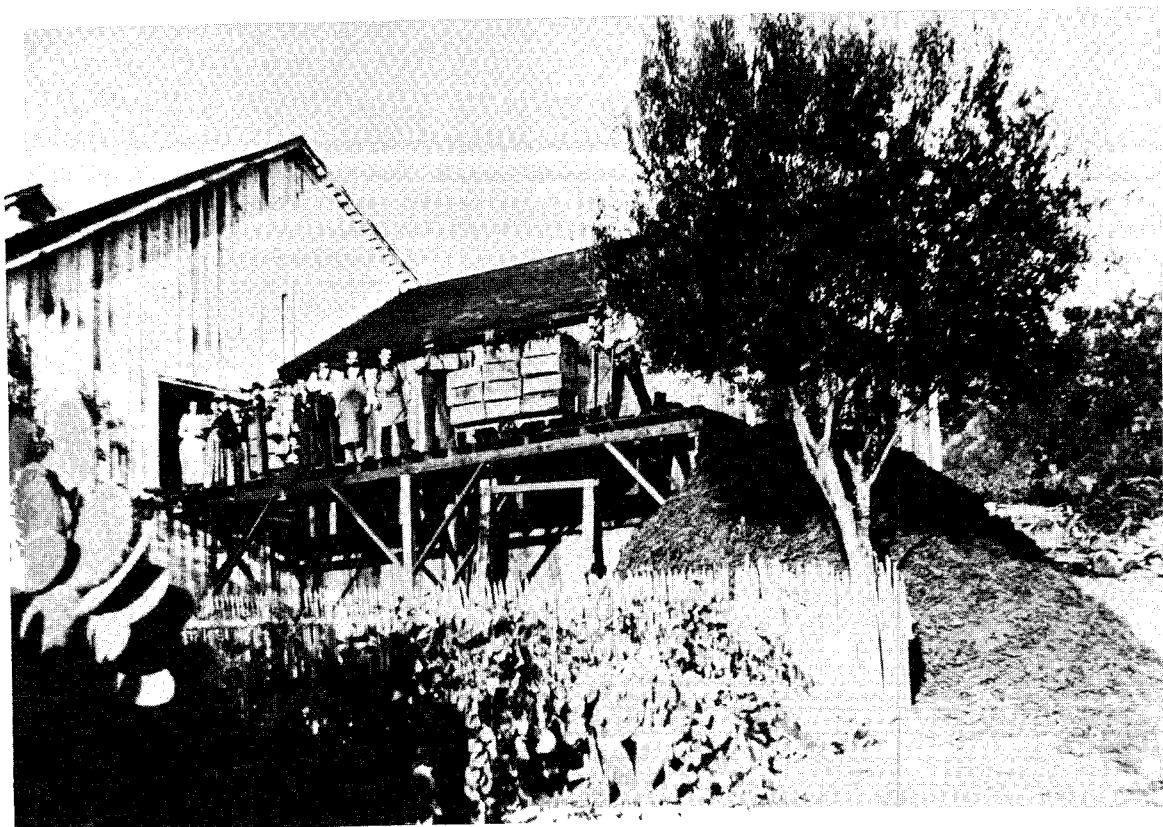
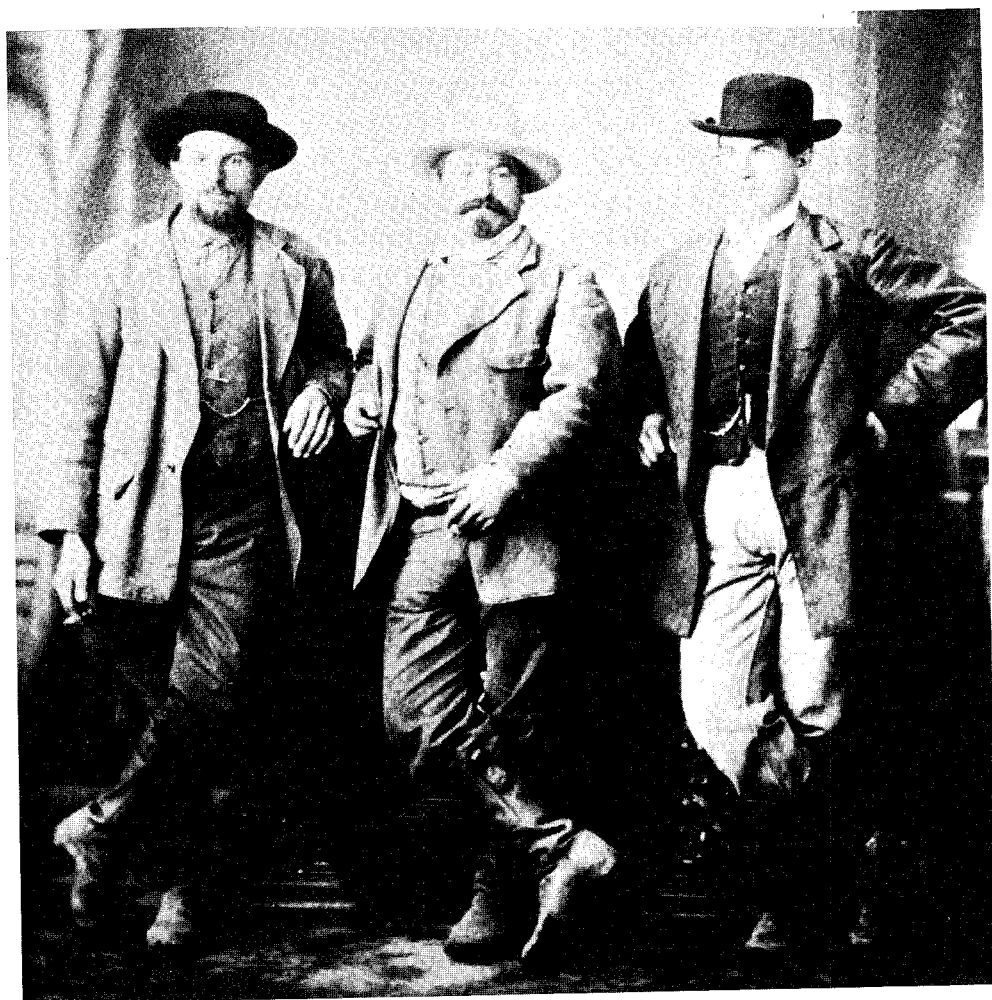
The grape cuttings brought back from this journey included the Folle Blanche, Grey Riesling, French Colombard, and possibly the Pinot Noir. Another early journalist turned winegrower, Charles A. Wetmore, founder of Cresta Blanca Vineyards in the 1890's, traced grape origins and said of the Pellier contributions:

(Continued on page 154)



In 1854 French vineyardist Pierre Pellier (left) returned to the fertile Santa Clara region with a new wife and superior grape cuttings. In the 1860's Pellier moved his family to the Evergreen district southeast of San Jose, and the Pellier winery (opposite page, below) began operation. Pierre's daughter Henrietta married neighboring vintner Pierre Mirassou (below) in 1881, and under Pierre Mirassou's leadership—with the aid of his brothers-in-law (opposite page, top; Pierre in center)—the vineyards and winery blossomed.





"The Colombard variety came under its true name to Mr. Pellier from the Charente district of France. It is one of the Cognac varieties. . . ." He also credited Pellier for importing the Folle Blanche.²²

In 1862 Pierre, always the adventurous member of the Pellier family, left the nursery business and moved to nearby Mission San Jose where he searched and found a suitable location for a new vineyard. He selected choice land southeast of present-day San Jose in the Evergreen district, 640 acres of property which had been a portion of the Rancho Yerba Buena granted to the Chaboya family from the king of Spain. Pierre found exactly what he sought: rich, gravelly soil on sloping foothills near the base of Mount Hamilton. His experience told him that here the afternoon sunshine would be tempered by cool breezes—ideal conditions for growing fine grape varieties. He selected the best cuttings from the family nursery and set out his own vineyard. Several years later the Pellier winery crushed its first grapes and made its first wines. This was the beginning of more than a century of winegrowing in California initially under the Pellier name and later that of Mirassou.

The alliance of the Pellier and Mirassou families began in 1881 when the oldest of the four Pellier daughters, Henrietta, fell in love with a young Frenchman and neighboring vintner, Pierre Mirassou.²³ Mirassou had arrived from France only a year earlier. Because of his considerable wine experience in his youth, he was naturally given wide responsibilities in the Pellier wine operations shortly after his marriage to Henrietta, and for the ensuing nine years the vineyards and winery operations blossomed under his supervision. But with Pierre's sudden and unexpected death in 1894, the family business came under the direction of Thomas Caselagno, a former foreman on the Pellier-Mirassou property, whom Henrietta married in 1892. The three young Mirassou sons, Peter, Herman, and John, were trained in vineyard and winery operations by their new stepfather. During the decade of Caselagno's management, he coped with the sudden influx of the plant louse, *phylloxera*, which threatened the entire California wine industry in the 1890's and spread to Europe as well. Seeking rootstock resistant to this grave infestation, Caselagno went to Europe and brought back with him 20,000 disease-resistant, rooted vines of the Rupestris St. George variety—ironically a native American rootstock. (The rootstock which saved the California vineyards came primarily from Missouri, but they were imported from France after the vintners learned the French were having success with these midwestern roots.²⁴)

Able trained by Caselagno, the three Mirassou sons, Peter, Herman, and John, were experienced enough by 1909 to form a partnership and buy the entire operation from their stepfather. Two years previously, a new wine facility had been completed. Peter Mirassou married the daughter of a Mt. Hamilton orchardist, Justine C. Schreiber, and this branch of the Mirassous carried on the winemaking traditions begun by the Pelliers. Two sons, Edmund and Norbert, still remain in active ownership and direction of the Mirassou wine interests, while their fifth generation sons and daughter assumed much of the day-to-day management, marketing, and vineyard development in the late 1960's.

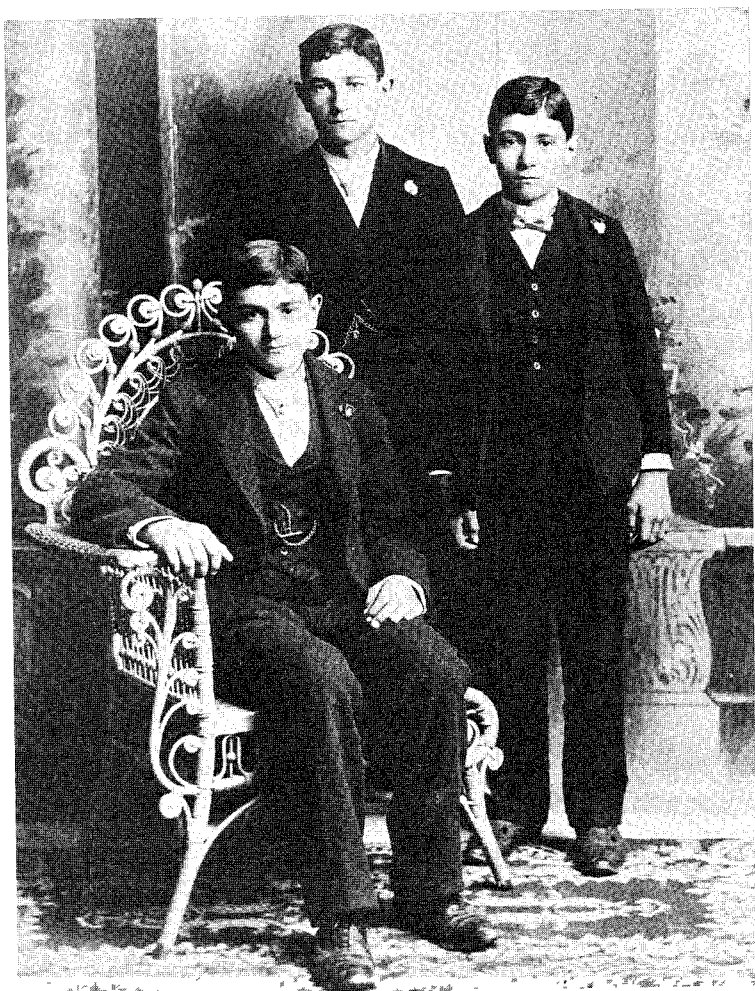
As it was for the Biane family, the Prohibition era was a critical time in the Mirassou family's operations. Peter Mirassou controlled the vineyards and winery with total land area of 800 acres and a winery capacity of 1,500,000 gallons of wine annually; Prohibition's effect was to dissolve the partnership. While many

vineyards were left dormant in parts of the state, the family decided to continue raising grapes on Mirassou land rather than convert to orchards or other crops. The unexpected continued demand for grapes during Prohibition resulted in the Mirassou family and others in the Santa Clara Valley who retained their grapes being able to sell their crops and make more money than they had prior to the Volstead Act. Grape prices went as high as \$200 a ton. With Repeal in 1934, Peter Mirassou backed his two sons in a revival of the family enterprise, and by 1937 the winery was once again in operation.

At first after so many years of inactivity, prices were low and over-all quality of California wines poor. In fact, according to one published wine history, "standards of the new industry were frankly low, partly dictated by the poor quality of available grapes but mostly because of the poor methods used to produce the wine. Some of this wine was rushed to market and naturally consumers found it to be unpalatable."²⁵

Mirassou Vineyards, however, under its new name and the guidance of Edmund and Norbert, upgraded the grape product. They became suppliers to larger wineries of fine varietal wines and champagne "stock"—the "still" wine used in producing sparkling vintages. They sold their wines mainly in bulk in tank cars or tank trucks and bottled only a small amount for those who came to buy wines

Ably trained by their step-father after Pierre Mirassou's sudden death, Peter, Herman and John Mirassou (from left) formed a partnership in 1909 and bought the Mirassou operation. Peter's children and grandchildren remain in active ownership and direction of the winery.



at the winery. Other wineries also sold in bulk, but the Mirassou wines were unusual in being primarily made from the finest varietal grapes available from the well-matured vineyards in the Evergreen. Constantly striving to improve varieties, the Mirassou family also grew 90 per cent of the grapes which were crushed to make their own wines.

By the mid-twentieth century a grave problem faced the one-time halcyon Santa Clara Valley: increasing urbanization which consumed fruit orchards and vineyards. Thousands of fertile acres were rapidly converted to shopping centers and subdivisions. In an essay written in 1961, Edmund Mirassou assessed the development as a "subdivision plague that could eradicate the production of fine wines in California . . . this enemy that no wall can hold back, this virus that is destroying and uprooting our vineyards."²⁶

Because land costs were becoming inordinately expensive as a result of new property taxes based on high valuations, the Mirassous reluctantly purchased new land in the Gavilan mountain range of Monterey County. They acquired a 300-acre ranch and planted vineyards in 1961, and shortly after, they purchased a 650-acre ranch, San Vicente, and transferred their major grapegrowing activity to the new wine region near Soledad which had been carefully analyzed by University of California agriculturists who found it eminently suitable for grape culture. The Mirassous played a major role in developing this new California winegrowing territory, as did Paul Masson and Wente Bros.

Today, four sons and two daughters of Edmund and Norbert Mirassou comprise the fifth generation responsible for the marketing success of the winery. The fifth generation consists of Daniel, James, Peter and Colleen, children of Edmund, and Steve and Francine, children of Norbert.

In the 1970's the Mirassous pioneered again, this time in inaugurating a system of field-crushing grapes in the vineyard to prevent spoilage. Thus they have aided in opening a new perspective, "wineries in the field," much of whose success is contingent on the machine-harvesting of grapes.

Members of the Mirassou family have played an important role in community affairs in Santa Clara as well. Edmund, fourth generation, was chairman of the California State Wine Advisory Board from 1953 to 1973, administering the direction of the wine industry. He is a member of the State Board of Food and Agriculture, serving from 1972 through 1977. Mirassou has served on water, soil conservation, church, youth, and other boards, and has been a member of the Wine & Food Society of London for a decade. A son, Daniel, fifth generation, has been president of the Santa Clara Winegrowers, and another Mirassou who directs the vineyards, Peter, has helped in the organization of the Monterey winegrowers association and served as its president.

Today, the Mirassou interests include a total of 500 acres of vineyards in Santa Clara County and another 900 acres in Monterey County, most devoted to cultivation of varietal wine grapes. The fifth generation, responsible for sales of casegoods, has recently acquired the old Wehner winery, operated for years by another California vintner family, the Cribaris. The Wehner acquisition provides the Mirassou winery with an additional half-million gallons of wooden cooperage in which to age their wines. The production of the 120-year-old wine company has increased in an eight-year span from annual sales of 1,000 cases of wine to more

than 100,000 cases, while the current production capacity of the Mirassou organization now stands at 2,300,000 gallons, a far cry from the early days of Pierre Pellier, when wine production was measured by the standards of hundreds of gallons rather than hundreds of thousands of gallons.

Less than a day's journey by horse and buggy from the Evergreen district of San Jose selected by the Pellier-Mirassou family, early vintners were tilling the soil and producing wines in the Livermore Valley of Alameda County as early as 1848. It remained, however, for a Bavarian farmer skilled in animal husbandry to become the patriarch of another family in the diminishing list of family-owned wineries still in existence. The farmer was Carl Heinrich Wenté, German-born and from the province of Hanover. At the age of nineteen young Wenté emigrated to the United States and went to work in Lake County as a farm laborer. He built fences and labored long hours for Dr. Charles Adams in Adams Springs. Later, trudging across the St. Helena mountains and down into Napa Valley, Wenté worked for another wine pioneer, Charles Krug. Wenté became a cellar man and learned the rudiments of winemaking. He acquired his trade in California, unlike Pierre Pellier or Marius Biane who had carried their wine skills with them from France. While working in the Napa region, Wenté met and later married another youthful German settler, Barbara Trautwein, who had been born in Lonsheim near the Black Forest. In contrast to Wenté, Miss Trautwein came from a family that cultivated vines and herself was familiar with winemaking. After marrying, they settled down in the Livermore Valley and purchased fifty acres of Dr. George Bernard's vineyard two miles southeast of the town in partnership with Louis Busch and Herman Oterson. This acreage became known as the "home place," and the winery is still there some ninety-two years later.²⁷

Twenty acres of the land had been planted with the Zinfandel grape and smaller amounts of Charbono, Matero, and Colombard. Ironically in light of its popularity today, young Wenté was unhappy about one variety called Grey Riesling, which he grafted over to White Riesling. A neighboring family took some of the Grey Riesling cuttings and replanted them along Vineyard Avenue in the nearby town of Pleasanton. A full half-century later, one of the three Wenté sons, Ernest, re-acquired some of these original cuttings from the Will Schween family and began production of the well-known Wenté Grey Riesling—possibly one of the most familiar of today's Wenté vintages in California.²⁸

Wenté and his partners soon planted the remaining acres to new varieties—Semillon, Sauvignon blanc, and Sauvignon vert. The Sauvignon blanc came from cuttings brought to the state by a French vineyardist, Louis Mel, who had obtained them from the Marquis de Saluces of the famed Chateau d'Yquem in the Sauternes district. When Prohibition ended, the visiting Marquis inspected the descendants of the original cuttings from d'Yquem and remarked "I'm glad to find my children so well in California."

While the Livermore Valley became known for its white wine varieties, in the earlier years a substantial amount of red table grapes had also been planted, much of it for sale as bulk wines. The Wentés produced a great quantity of red wines, principally Zinfandel, and also a wine that was labelled as *vin ordinaire* and sold by the hundreds of thousands of gallons. Their sound philosophy was to try "to make \$2.50 a ton on these grapes and keep the men employed."²⁹

Young Ernest Wenté, the second student ever to enroll at the University of California at Davis in 1908, became friendly with a Frenchman who had been hired by the university, Leon O. Bonnet, a graduate of the National School of Agriculture at Montpellier. In 1912 this friendship resulted in Bonnet's brother, a superintendent of the Montpellier nursery, shipping a number of French vines to the Wentés, including a variety known as Ugni blanc. Wenté recalls that his neighboring vintner, Clarence Wetmore of Cresta Blanca winery, grew the same variety, but he called it St. Emilion. The two vines, however, actually came from different regions in France, and their similarity aroused controversy similar to the early confusion between Colombard and Sauvignon vert grape types. The Livermore region was considered by some to evidence more of a "sauternes" climate than that of a German-style "Riesling." For many years after Repeal, however, Wenté's Rieslings were displayed and entered in the State Fair competition in Sacramento where they won high awards for excellence.

Pressured by the needs of a family of seven, Carl Wenté was a stern taskmaster with his three sons, and he required them to work long, arduous hours in the vineyards. Two of them, Ernest and Herman, remained in the wine business all of their lives, while the third, Carl F. Wenté, who developed an early aversion to weed pulling and farm life in general, went into banking and became president of the world's largest banking enterprise, the Bank of America. Skeptical of higher education, when Ernest decided to enroll at Davis, Carl, Sr., discouragingly pointed out that his neighbor, Colonel George Edwards, although dean of mathematics at the University of California, had lost by foreclosure 200 acres of land in the Livermore area in the 1880's. Carl proudly observed that although his own education in Germany had ended with the third grade, he managed to purchase the property.

Wenté's choice of the Livermore area was a good one. Several wineries owned by prominent settlers thrived there. The Concannon family had settled down in Livermore in the same year as Wenté, 1883. The Olivina winery of Julius Paul Smith was known throughout the state. Smith's wealth had come from the famed Twenty Mule Team borax enterprises; on his retirement he bought 2,300 acres of land and put much of it into grapes. Another settler, Alexander Duvall, founded Chateau Bellevue winery with railroading money and built an imposing mansion and chapel. Most famous at the time, perhaps, was the Cresta Blanca Winery founded by journalist Charles A. Wetmore in 1882; by 1889 he had won two gold medals for the quality of his wines at the International Exposition in Paris.³⁰

However, grapegrowing and winemaking in the Livermore Valley did not naturally produce superior quality wines, by any means. As Ernest Wenté recounted: "While Robert Livermore brought grapes into the Livermore area in the 1830's and the old Padres brought in Mission grapes in the early days, all the Mission varieties were of Spanish origin. It had no great quality asset at all. It was just the *vin ordinaire*. When we started in production here we went into the better varieties."³¹

After the turn of the century, a wine "alliance" occurred between the elder Wenté and Napa vintner Emil Priber, president of the Napa & Sonoma Wine Company. Priber sold his company to Wenté, who became president and named a friend, Frank A. Busse, superintendent of the enterprise. The association contin-



German-born Carl Heinrich Wenthe and his wife posed in front of their winery in Livermore at the end of the vintage season in 1894. The building stands today with a few additions. Carl's sons Ernest (far left) and Herman L. (on his mother's lap) are the present owners of Wenthe Bros.

ued until the advent of Prohibition. During this period Wenthe retained 51 per cent of the stock holdings, but his wine labels read "Napa and Sonoma Wine Company" while featuring wines from Napa, Sonoma, and Livermore. The wording came about at the express order of Wenthe who chose not to have his own name on the label. In fact, Wenthe wines were never bottled in Livermore prior to Prohibition, according to Ernest Wenthe, only in Napa and Sonoma. Furthermore, there was no actual Wenthe label. At the Pan-Pacific International Exposition in 1915, however, each of four gold-medal award wines entered at the fair was Wenthe-made, although bottled under such names as Beaulieu, Napa, Sonoma, and one other old firm, Gundlach and Bundschu.³² Many other firms bought Wenthe wines and bottled them. One was the celebrated "A. Finke's Widow," the label of grocers and dealers established in 1864, located on Montgomery Street in San Francisco, and run by E. O. Schraubstadter and E. A. Groezinger. Many such sales were made to California wine sellers, bottlers, and individuals.

Wente's operations changed radically with Prohibition. Wente's major customer until Repeal was Beaulieu Vineyard. This Napa winery, begun in 1900 by Georges de Latour, sold sacramental wines, and for them Wente produced approximately 30,000 gallons of wine each season. The main wine was Sweet Semillon or Sweet Sauterne which was sold to the Church. In order to comply with federal alcohol-tax regulations, however, Wente winery, itself bonded, became a Beaulieu-bonded winery so that it could ship directly to agents in Chicago and other cities. Wines in bulk also were sold to Cresta Blanca, which had been in operation since the 1890's.

Wente's Napa & Sonoma company discontinued operating when Prohibition began. He thereupon sold his rights in the company for the price of the inventory and, at the same time, turned over his own Wente winery to his two sons, Ernest and Herman. Each was asked to select the particular vineyard property he wanted, and C. H. Wente, Inc., the original family organization, was disbanded. Carl remained on the property in the original family home until his death in 1934 at the age of eighty-three at which time the winery and vineyards became the famed Wente Bros.

Each of Carl's sons concentrated in his own specialty. Herman, the dynamic winemaker and personality, became a leader in the state's post-World War II wine industry. Ernest, an expert farmer and vineyardist, was known in the Livermore region as a cattleman as well as a wine authority. Whereas Ernest had been a student at the small Davis branch of the University of California, Herman attended classes at Berkeley where he studied under the famed Professor W. V. Cruess, a pioneer in the food technology field, who had begun organizing classes for potential winemakers.³³

According to Ernest Wente, an interesting change in emphasis took place in the state's wine industry in 1934 when Wente Bros. became an official name: the nomenclature of California wines was altered. Prior to Prohibition generic wines, whose names were duplicates of European wines (Chablis, Sauterne, Burgundy, Sherry) were the best-known. But when the state industry reorganized itself in the mid-1930's after Repeal, there occurred a notable change in which the Wentes played a major role. Herman Wente came onto the market in 1936 with a Sauvignon blanc which is believed to have been the first "varietal" wine produced in California, varietal meaning one named for the grape itself. The Sauvignon blanc sold so well that Wente Bros. soon introduced other varietal names such as Semillon, Pinot Chardonnay, and Pinot blanc. Other wineries soon followed suit.

Continuity of winemaking operations has been of utmost importance to the Wente Bros. operation. When the winery began its own labelling in 1934, four new employees joined the organization: Bruno Canziani, winemaker; Elbert Kirkman, office manager and secretary of the company; Frank Garbini, an expert both in and out of the winery; and Adele Kruger, a forelady who supervised twelve women on the bottling lines and became a tour hostess. Forty years later three of the quartet are still active in the wine company, with a cumulative 120 years of experience.

Marketing today is a far cry from the early 1900's when all wine was shipped by train or water and frequently bottled in its destination cities of Oakland or

San Francisco. As the Livermore wine company continued to grow, new sales practices developed which involved national distributors, transportation by truck, and refinements in grapegrowing and processing. Herman Wenté remained active for many years as principal winemaker and an early organizer of the Wine Institute, a trade association he helped establish in 1934. A third generation family member, Karl Wenté, joined the winery following graduation from Stanford University. As urbanization began to take its toll in the Livermore Valley and Santa Clara, the Wenté Bros. purchased 300 acres in the Salinas Valley in 1961. Today their vineyards total 700 acres in Monterey County and yield a large proportion of the grapes utilized in producing Wenté wines. The wines are distributed nationally, shipped overseas, and often served in United States embassies abroad at diplomatic functions. Wenté Bros.' Pinot Chardonnay, praised nationally in the 1960's by the Guide Michelin, became the standard by which other California Chardonnays were judged. By the mid-1970's two members of the fourth Wenté generation, Philip and Eric, entered the family business to carry on the ninety-two-year-old enterprise. Karl Wenté is active outside of wine industry, as well, as a member of the board of trustees of the state university system, director of the California Water Co., and a director of the California Automobile Association. With 1,400 acres of vineyards and the capacity to produce 1,500,000 gallons of wine, Wenté Bros. exercises perhaps a disproportionate role in setting standards of quality for other California wine companies.

Unlike the French Vaché-Biane and Mirassou-Pellier families and the German-born Wentés, the Concannons of the Livermore Valley came from Irish stock. They brought to wine making an entirely different heritage, but applied the same basic skills to tilling the soil and making high quality wines. With the Biances, Mirassous, and Wentés, the third-generation Concannon Vineyard is apparently the fourth and last of the family-owned growers and vintners who began operations in the middle and late 1800's and still remain in the wine business. Until recently they were accurately described as "an old firm with a famous name, strong in Irish Catholic traditions, and known for the quality of wines—with main accent on table wines of the Sauterne family."³⁴ In the past decade, however, they have diversified into red and white table wines of many types and styles, including Riesling, Petite Sirah, and Cabernet Sauvignon.

James Concannon, founder of the Livermore winery, was born and raised on the Aran Islands on Galway Bay. As a youth he had little interest in wine and more in the family occupation of potato raising. He dreamed of going to the "new country," however, and saved his money to buy passage to America.

Young James' path between debarking at Boston harbor and settling down in Livermore was anything but direct. His first job was with the Singer Sewing Machine company; later he became manager of a hotel in Maine, going to school at night. In 1874 at age twenty-seven Concannon married and brought his bride to San Francisco. First he managed a sheep ranch in Oregon, then he sold books door-to-door, and eventually he became a pioneer in the rubber stamp business. Taking over an exclusive agency for the Pacific Coast and Mexico as well, he lived in Mexico for several years and became a friend of President Porfirio Díaz. It was from the sale of rubber stamps that Concannon earned the money to buy vineyard property and settle down to a permanent address and a new business.

Through talks with his friend Archbishop Alemany of San Francisco, he became convinced that he could earn a good living making wines and selling them to the Catholic church.

It was in 1883, the same year the Wentz family established its first vineyard in the Livermore area, that Concannon and his wife settled down on Livermore acreage which he had bought from rancher Horace Overacher. The area was a district of fertile farms with a well-organized township and thriving economy; it had become a farming community after a sailor, Robert Livermore, jumped ship in the town of Monterey and settled on the Rancho Las Positas. Entering the Livermore Valley in 1835, by 1853 Livermore had developed a ranch comprising 26,000 acres, and on it he ran cattle and sheep, cultivated fruit orchards, and planted vineyards, perhaps the first in the area. Thirty years later the Concannons acquired their forty-seven-acre plot of land where the present-day winery stands.

Because of his family's farming experience, Concannon was well aware of the farming potential of the area. He discovered that the region was similar to that of the Graves area, France's famed Sauternes-producing district. His property was located in a narrow gravel strata at the south end of the Valley. It was filled with boulders and rock formations, and it badly needed cultivation. Here James and Ellen Rowe Concannon, married for ten years, settled down to grow grapes and make wines. In the years to come the Concannons reared a family of five sons and five daughters, all of them active in winery work and in church and Irish cultural activity.

Indicative of his expansive interests, Concannon also helped develop a grape-growing industry in Mexico. As the story goes, President Díaz believed that one day Mexico could grow its own wines, and in 1890 he invited James Concannon to set out the first vineyards. Idwal Jones related Concannon's Mexican experience:

He planted them to scions from the Concannon, the Wentz, and the Cresta Blanca farms, and wrote textbooks in Spanish on grape farming for the planters and workmen. When he moved about from one of these haciendas to another, all developed with federal money, he was escorted by a troop of cavalry. That escort was in the nature of a personal tribute, and Don Jaime Concannon, the Livermore farmer, with his sun wrinkles, strong bearded jaw and gnarled hands, traveled with no less magnificence than the President himself.³⁵

Meanwhile, on his land in Livermore Valley, Concannon concentrated on the production of white table wines made from the Semillon and Sauvignon varieties. In addition, as Archbishop Alemany has assured him, considerable revenue came from sales of sacramental wines to the church. The requirements for these sacramental wines were rather stringent: they had to be of light alcoholic content and they had to be sweet. Quite often they had to be white varieties, so that if the wine spilled it would not stain the linen used in the service. The Concannons carefully met all the requirements, and they became accustomed to producing only quality wines from excellent grapes. As a result, their growing reputation, and that of Wentz and nearby Cresta Blanca, made the Livermore Valley famous for white wine quality and high standards.

By 1910 the Concannon sons had entered the wine business. Concannon acreage was expanded. Several red grape varieties were planted, among them the

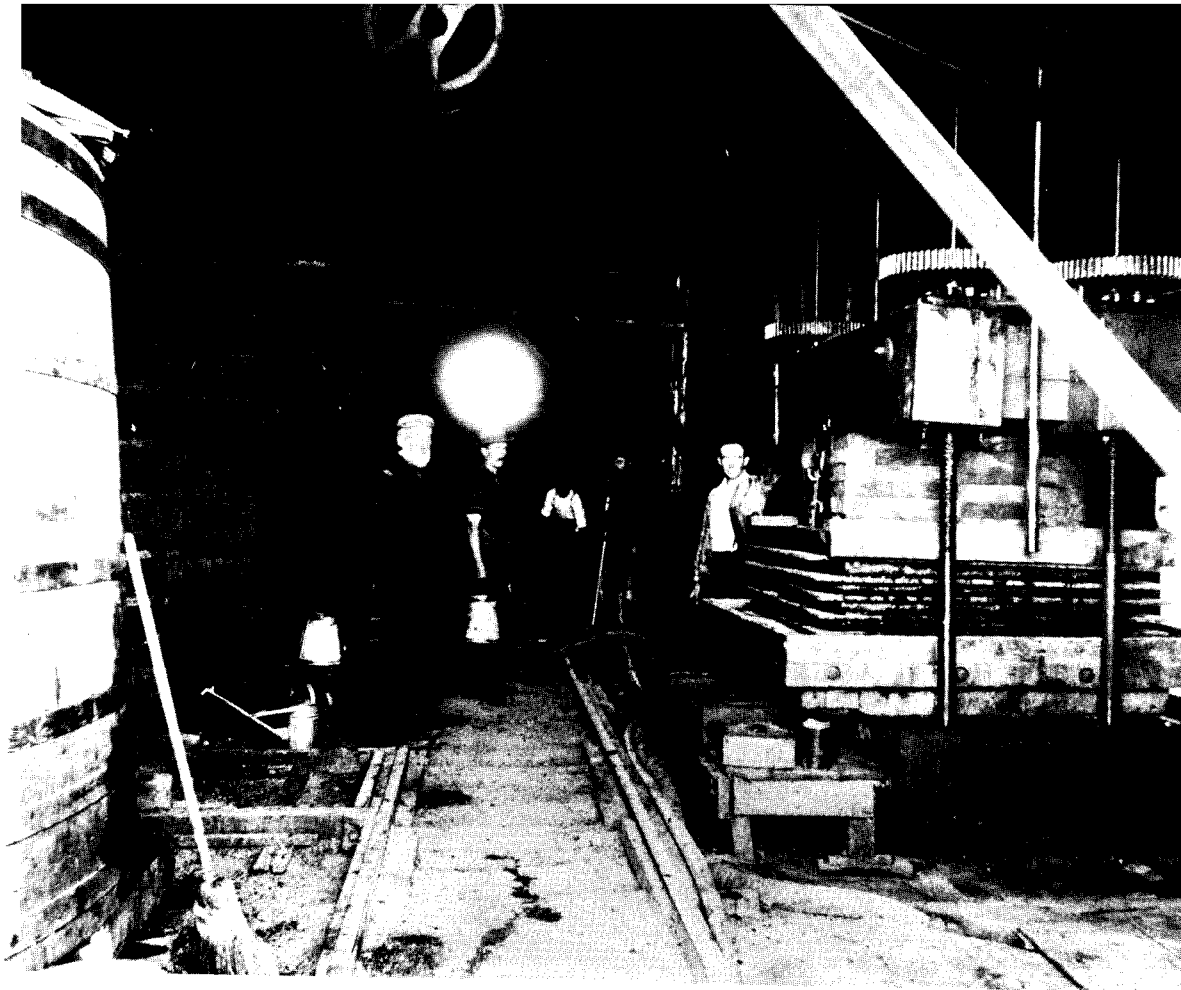
Petite Sirah which was destined to become a special wine featured by the Concannon family decades later.

The pioneering Concannon, salesman extraordinary, staunch religionist, and family man, brought the Irish spirit to his home and to the Livermore Valley. Between 1883 and his death in 1911 he sent for many relatives from the old country, including brothers and their families, and the Concannon ranch became a center of Irish activity. With his death active management of the winery and vineyards passed to Joseph S. Concannon who retained control for the following half-century. Other brothers were interested in the wine producing operation, but gradually "Captain Joe," who was a cavalry officer prior to World War I, acquired full ownership and became one of the best-known wine personalities in the north coastal region.

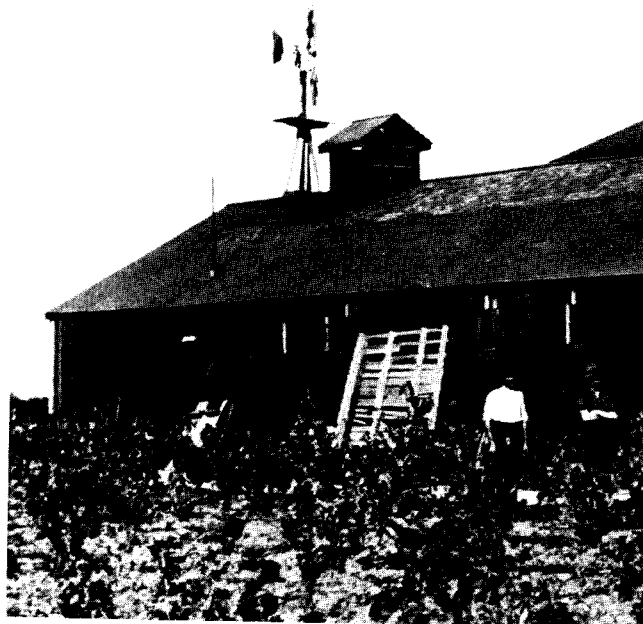
Born in the family home located in the vineyards along Tesla Road, Joseph Concannon lived in the same house and spent full days in the nearby winery until his death in 1965 at the age of eighty. In the earlier years his brother Thomas Concannon served as the wine chemist, and a third brother, Robert, took charge of sales. Steady expansion led to a total planting of 300 acres of grapevines surrounding the winery. In 1937 Cabernet Sauvignon was planted for the first time,

Irishman James Concannon posed with his family in 1897 at their home and winery in the Livermore Valley. Joseph (standing behind his mother) assumed operation of the winery after James' death in 1911 and steered its course until 1965.





At his Livermore winery (right, photo c. 1890), Concanon concentrated on producing white table wines and, as well, sweet, light sacramental wines. The original wine press (above) served the Concanons and their band of countrymen for many years.



followed by new planting of Johannisberg Riesling, Zinfandel, Petite Sirah, and other varietals which were tested and found to grow well in the rocky, gravelly Livermore loam.

Young Joseph S. Concannon, Jr., took over operation of the winery and vineyards upon the death of his father in 1965. A graduate of Notre Dame University, the younger Concannon had worked in and around the winery since his teens. He became president and manager of the family corporation, and his younger brother, James, trained at St. Mary's College and at the University of California at Davis, became the winemaker.

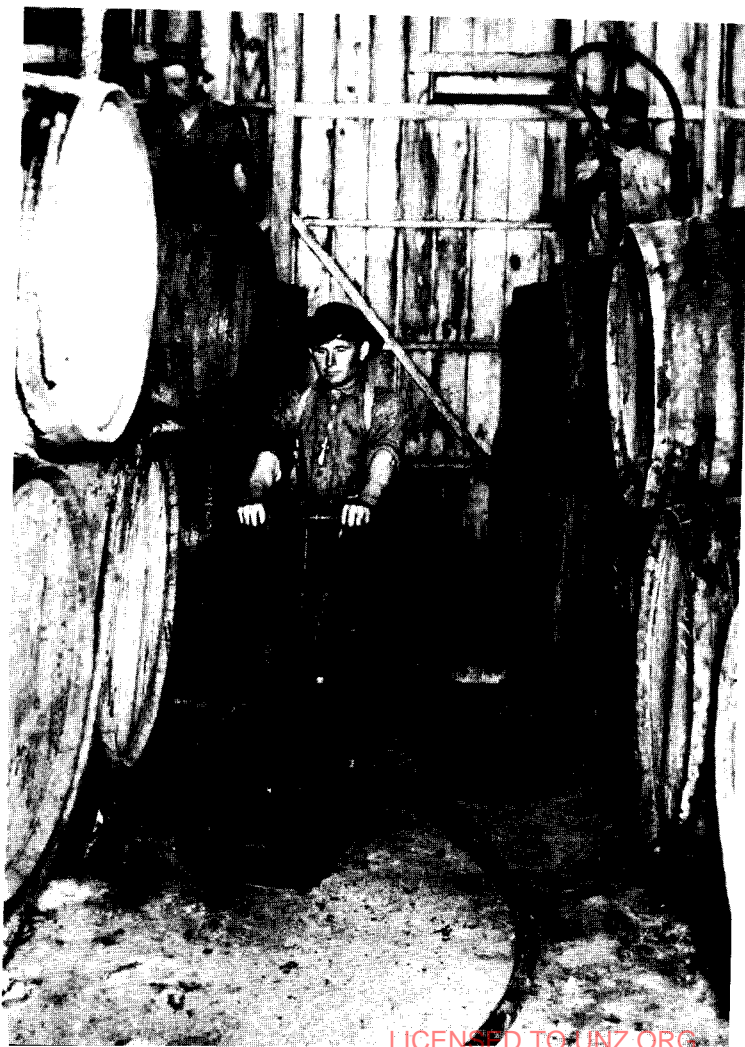
The new generation of Concannons follows the field practice of eliminating the oldest vines, allowing the exhausted soil to lie fallow for five years, then introducing new vines block by block. Within the modest winery are eighty-year-old aging casks and the original press, which is still used in producing some of the wines, although new stainless steel equipment has been added. The Concannons specialize in wines not produced by other vintners, including the only "Moselle" bottled in California, a Zinfandel Rosé, and a Muscat d'Frontignan dessert wine from the grape of that name. Recently the Concannons have planted cuttings of a Russian wine grape known as the Rkatsiteli and have produced a varietal wine by this name on an experimental basis. Four young sons are available to continue the Concannon wine line, and two of them are now old enough to work in the winery as their fathers did thirty years earlier.

Rich vineyard properties once belonging to the late lawyer-vintner Chaffee Hall of Hallcrest Vineyards have been leased from the late winemaker's estate to add special character to the grapes used in Concannon wines. Currently, the





In 1911 a San Francisco photographer, Howard C. Tibbetts, photographed workers pressing grapes and pumping juice into fermentation tanks (above) and pumping wine from one cask to another (left) at a Livermore winery.



OPPOSITE: Field workers were photographed prior to 1900 in this view of Alameda County's Warm Springs vineyard and winery, owned by Josiah Stanford, brother of Leland Stanford. Warm Springs wines were featured at the famous Hotel Del Monte.

Livermore winery is enlarging its storage capacity of 400,000 gallons and its ability to bottle 400 cases of wine a day.

Today, California boasts more than 240 bonded wineries, and the vineyards continue to lure new blood into the industry. As well, a substantial number of early wine families established in the early twentieth century, many still bearing names of wineries established in the 1800's, continue to produce. The oldest winery building still functioning today may be that of the Thomas Vineyards, founded in the Cucamonga region in 1839, but now simply a retail wine-tasting branch of the Joseph Filippi Winery.³⁶ The nationally known Almaden Vineyards was first established in 1852 by Frenchman Etienne Thee near the old quicksilver diggings which are virtually overrun by the sprawling suburbs of Los Gatos. Thee was succeeded by his son-in-law, Charles Le Franc. Paul Masson Vineyards boasts the same founding year as Almaden because the vineyard established by Thee and later acquired by LeFranc in turn passed over to Paul Masson, a Burgundy native who came to California in the late 1870's and later married LeFranc's daughter. He organized the wine company LeFranc and Masson, bought out the LeFranc interests in the 1880's, and established the Paul Masson Champagne Company. In turn, when the elderly Masson retired from his wine-making activities in 1936, he sold his beautiful Chateau and mountain winery to





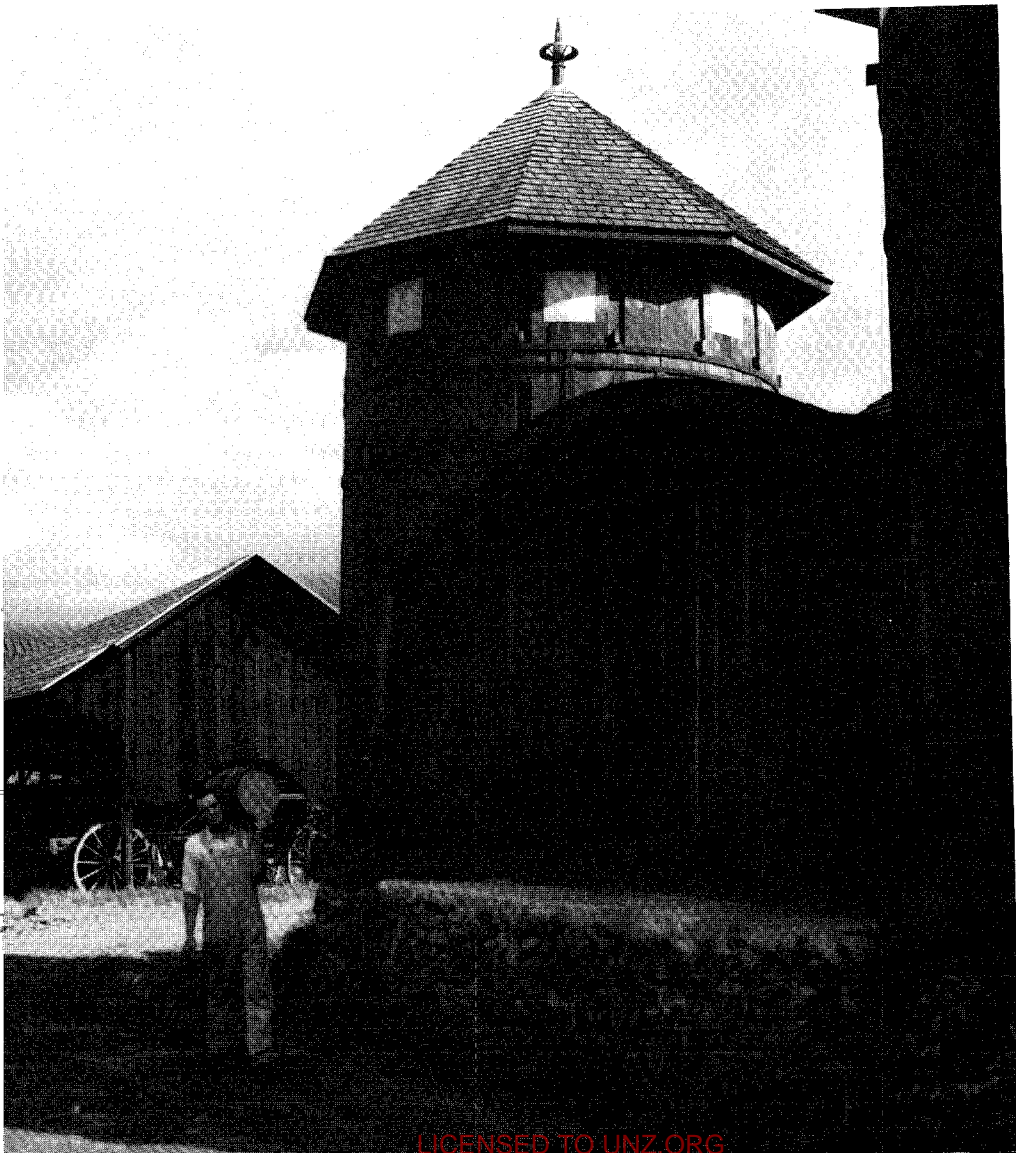
In 1889 workmen constructed the arch and wall in front of the Greystone Cellars near St. Helena (above). Currently owned by the Christian Brothers, the cellars are possibly the largest aging cellars made of oak and redwood in use in California.



This 1900's view of Fountaingrove Vineyard evokes the pastoral mood of the California wine story that is now only history. The vineyards of Fountaingrove, established in 1875 by a religious order, were given over to cattle grazing in 1953.

Martin Ray. The giant Seagram distilling company acquired Paul Masson from Ray in 1942, and it maintains this old wine label in the American and international marketplace under one of its subsidiary umbrellas, Browne Vintners.

Another of the old wine companies of California is Italian Swiss Colony which now belongs to the Heublein interests through its enormous subsidiary, United Vintners. It was begun in the early 1880's by a banker and former agriculturist, Andrea Sbarbaro, to provide Italian and Swiss farmers with work in the vineyards he had established in northern Sonoma County near Cloverdale. The rolling hills of the country reminded Sbarbaro of his native region of Lombardy in Italy, and he named his new vineyard Asti. In 1888 he engaged a pharmacist, Pietro Rossi, to become the winemaker and to improve the quality of the wines. Rossi's family included twin sons, Edmund and Robert, who were associated for many decades with the Italian Swiss Colony, although Edmund also managed the California Wine Advisory Board for more than a decade. Today, eighty years later, two grandsons of the winery executives, Edmund, Jr., and Robert, Jr., are key officials in the state's second largest wine company with its nine producing

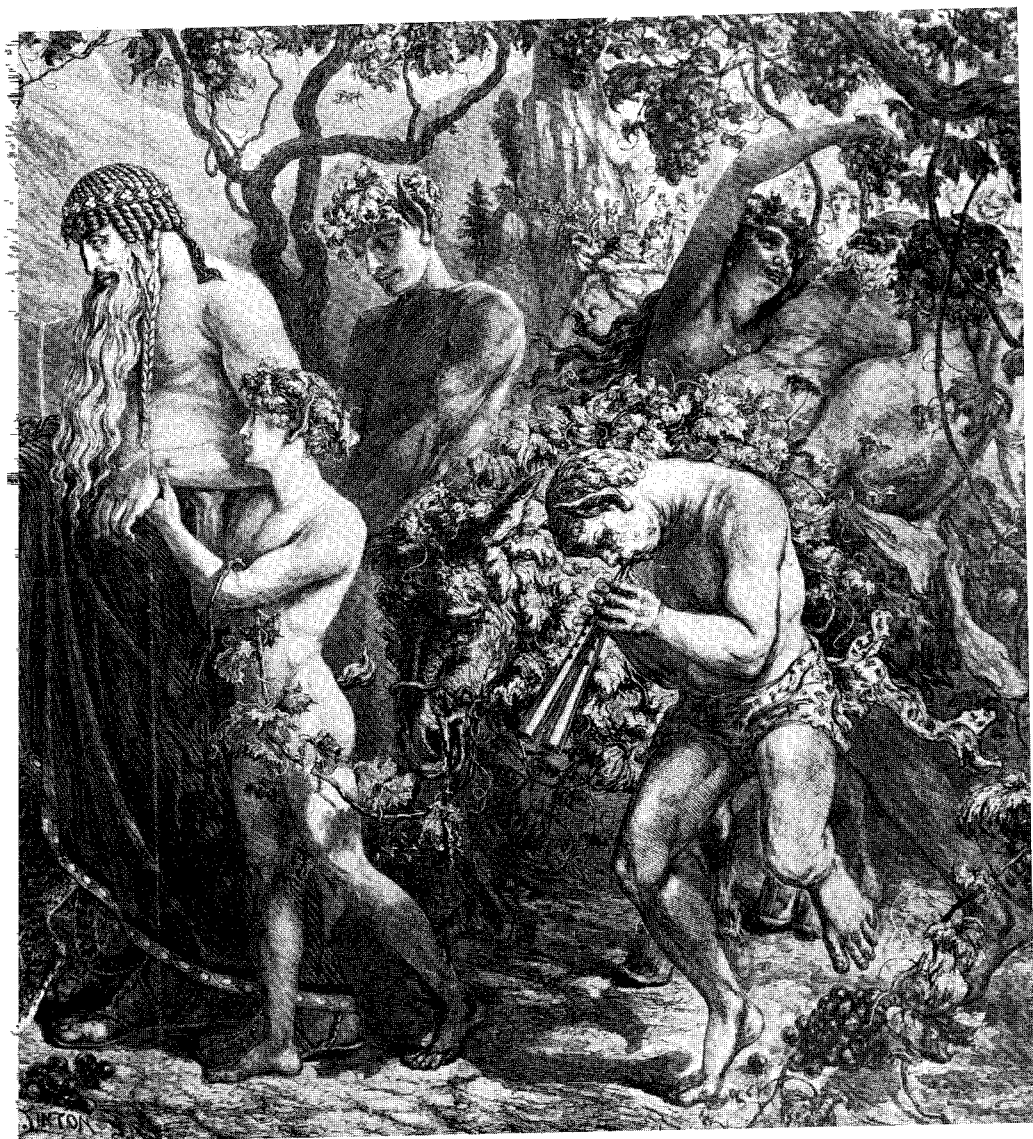


The mythical passing of the grape cutting from the tired old world to the rugged new land is the theme of this solemn if optimistic nineteenth-century advertisement for California wines sponsored by a New York distributor. Its caption read, "Bacchus in America—The Old Wine God and the New."



branches in California, 2,000 acres of vineyards, and producing capacity of 95 million gallons.

A Finnish sea captain, Gustav Niebaum, bought a vineyard in the Napa Valley in 1879, named the operation Inglenook, and began producing excellent wines known throughout California for decades. His nephew, John Daniel, Jr., a pilot and gentleman farmer, took over the management and ownership of the winery and the vineyards in the late 1930's. Daniel extended the fame of Inglenook wines and carried on the winemaking tradition as well as producing some of the finest red wines in California. They included Cabernet Sauvignon and a special wine, Charbono, which was the only one of its type in the state. In the mid-60's Inglenook winery was sold to the Heublein interests, although some vineyards and the family residence remained in the hands of the Daniel estate. These were acquired in the early 1970's by the van Löben Sels family for Oakville Vineyards, a limited partnership. The beautiful winery with its ivy-covered exterior remains intact, but unfortunately this outstanding Napa Valley architectural landmark has been almost obscured by the construction of a new wine building.



Still another celebrated winery and vineyards established in the 1880's has been acquired by Heublein. Beaulieu Vineyard is operated as an independent subsidiary of the large company. Georges de Latour, another Frenchman who arrived in California in the 1880's, had studied chemistry, and when he took up residence in Healdsburg he established a business, purchasing the residue of wine tanks, a deposit known as cream of tartar which was once used in the manufacture of baking soda. Like so many others, de Latour was intrigued with the burgeoning state wine business, and in 1889 he took the plunge himself. He acquired property adjacent to Inglenook, and his wife named it Beaulieu for a well-known commune in the Anjou district of France. Under his ownership and that of his daughter, Helene De Pins, and her husband, the Marquis de Pins, Beaulieu has remained one of the bright stars in the California wine firmament for seventy years. The firm was acquired by Heublein in 1969, and it has retained its independent status as a producer of excellent vintages. Its winemaker, Andre Tchelistcheff (now emeritus), was regarded for decades as California's outstanding wine specialist.

Another historical wine family of seven decades is headed by Antonio Perelli-Minetti, ninety-four-years-old, who has been in the wine business since the early 1900's. Still vigorous and experimenting with new wine varieties, Perelli-Minetti heads the California Wine Association which was founded in 1905 and has undergone many changes of management. Its one-time statewide sales and production unit consisting of "Eleven Cellars" has now been reduced to one giant production plant at Delano, where there are 1,500 acres of vineyards and a storage capacity of 27 million gallons of wine. The three Perelli-Minetti sons carry on the family business, producing brandies which sell throughout the United States, as well as wines under the label of Fino Eleven Cellars, Ambassador, Calwa, and Aristocrat. This large, family-owned wine enterprise retains 300 wine labels inherited from previous companies which it has succeeded.

Another wine pioneer, Charles Krug, came to the Napa Valley and St. Helena region from Germany and established a winery in 1860 following his marriage to Carolyn Bale. After twenty years of successful operations on land acquired as his wife's dowry, Krug became one of the most successful vintners in the valley.³⁷ His wines were sold in the United States as well as in Mexico and England until his vineyard was ruined by *phylloxera* and his estate became in jeopardy at the time of his death in 1892. A nephew continued the operation until Prohibition. After Repeal, the Cesare Mondavi family bought the Krug estate and restored the vineyards and winery. Today this winery is run by Peter Mondavi and other members of his family, while his brother, Robert, once active in Krug management, now operates the nearby Robert Mondavi winery.

This completes a roster of some of the famous old names in California wine-growing today, many of which have been taken over by other interests. In the 1950's, however, a young German refugee widened the tone and spirit of a Horatio Alger rags-to-riches story which has repeated itself again and again in the last two decades. Hanns Kornell was a twenty-eight-year-old exile from Germany who arrived at New York's Ellis Island in 1939 with \$2 in his pocket and hitch-hiked to California. He carried with him the impressive credentials of a third-generation German champagne maker—but very little prospects of a job. In the European tradition, Kornell had been apprenticed to other wine companies and had worked in the wine cellars where his grandfather, father, and uncles had followed the family trade. After years of adversity and working for other wineries, Kornell acquired a tiny winery of his own in Sonoma, leasing a plant from the Sonoma Wine Company directly off a major highway and less than a mile from the original homestead and vineyards of General Vallejo. Partly by chance and partly by design he had landed in the very cradle of winemaking in California; almost a century earlier Arpad Haraszthy had made champagne in this very region for his father, Count Haraszthy.

The first years in California were difficult for Kornell. He divided his time between making champagne and activities which included traveling to San Francisco, soliciting orders, washing barrels, and operating the labelling machine. His was a one-man operation, and his sparkling wine production was proudly listed by the hundreds of bottles as the enterprising champagne maker travelled to the nearby cities, visiting and persuading them to use his product.

After six years of hard work and long hours Kornell saved enough money to

expand his production and—best of all—to negotiate the purchase of an old winery establishment in the Napa Valley north of St. Helena known since the 1890's as the Larkmead winery. It was situated on the property once owned by the family of Lillian Hitchcock Coit, the celebrated San Francisco fire buff. The winery had been operated by the Salmima family until Kornell purchased it in 1958—the same year that he married Marilouise Rossini, the daughter of a pioneer Napa Valley settler. In the succeeding years Kornell made his mark on California wine. He expanded his tiny production to a million and a half bottles by the early 1970's and sold his wines in the United States and abroad. His product won international honors in sparkling-wine judgments in Hungary, London, and Yugoslavia as well as at home. Today Kornell seeks to perpetuate the family champagne name through training the fourth generation of Kornell winemakers, his teen-age daughter and son, brought up in the old wine traditions.

The Kornell story is typical of other California wine families. The Louis Martini family arrived from Italy at the turn of the century, and Louis M. Martini began producing his wines in the 1920's prior to establishing his now-famous family winery in St. Helena in the mid-1930's. The elder Martini died in 1974, but his son, Louis P. Martini, continues the family tradition. He is joined by later winemakers such as Joe Heitz, Jack Davies of Schramsberg, the Sebastiani family in Sonoma who have been producing excellent vintages since the early 1900's, and others of more recent years. In the 1970's many very small, boutique-style wineries have been organized in California, each with its loyal clientele.

The California wine industry represents a Cinderella success story, but one that demanded guts, arduous labor, and many long years of toil and tears to establish. Many traditional names continue; many have fallen by the wayside. As the Bianes, Wentes, Concannons, and Mirassous enter into their fourth and fifth generation of activity, they appear to be stronger than ever before. It is interesting to note, however, that the total gallon production of these four family wineries represents just about 1 per cent of the state's over-all winemaking capacity, and as more Americans learn to appreciate wine, California's 1974 production figure of more than 325 million gallons will undoubtedly increase substantially.

Each of the four nineteenth-century families possessed an inherent love of the soil and the vine. The Bianes pioneered a new wine marketing concept in order to remain a force in the wine business. The Mirassous sold bulk wines for more than three-quarters of a century before opting to plunge into competitive wine merchandising. Both the Wente and Concannon families helped establish the supremacy of Livermore Valley white wines and today are turning their energies toward recognition for their red wines as well. These families and today's giant producers and tiny wineries make up the complex fabric of this enormous California industry.

THE LITHOGRAPH on page 145 is from *Harpers Weekly*, 1878; the photographs on pages 148 and 149 are courtesy the Biane family archives at Brookside Winery, Old Guasti; the photos on pages 152 (top), 153, and 155, courtesy the Mirassou Vineyards, San Jose; and the photos on pages 163, 164, and 165, courtesy the Concannon family. The photos on pages 167 and 170–71 are from the CHS collections, and all other graphics are from the Wine Institute, San Francisco

NOTES

1. Irving McKee, "Early California Wine Growers," *California—Magazine of the Pacific*, September, 1947, p. 16.
2. McKee, "Wine Growers," 16.
3. Irving McKee, "Jean Louis Vignes, California's Pioneer Wine Grower," reprinted from *The Wine Review*, July, 1948, p. 18.
4. Maynard A. Amerine and Vernon L. Singleton, *Wine: An Introduction for Americans* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), p. 263.
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14. Wine Institute, *The Story of Wine and Its Uses*, 9th ed. (San Francisco: Wine Advisory Board, 1972), p. 40.
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17. Biane, "Wine Making," 3.
18. Biane, "Wine Making," 4.
19. Ellen Walsh, "Wine and Religion," *Vintage Magazine*, March–April, 1974. Walsh discusses the practice of producing sacramental wines in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
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22. Charles A. Wetmore, *Ampelography of California Grapes* (San Francisco, 1884).
23. Damskey, "Vineyard Venture," 14.
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25. Amerine and Singleton, *Wine: An Introduction for Americans*, 283.
26. Edmund A. Mirassou, "Are North Coast Grapes Expendable?," *Wines and Vines*, February, 1961, pp. 17–18.
27. Ernest A. Wentz, "Wine Making in the Livermore Valley," transcript of a tape-recorded interview conducted by Ruth Teiser, Regional Oral History office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, 1971, p. 4.
28. Wentz, "Wine Making," 5.
29. Wentz, "Wine Making," 8.
30. Irving McKee, "Historic Alameda County Wine Growers," *California—Magazine of the Pacific*, September, 1953.
31. Wentz, "Wine Making," 39.
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33. Amerine and Singleton, *Wine: An Introduction for Americans*, 284.
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35. Idwal Jones, *Vines in the Sun* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1949), pp. 162–65.
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37. Adams, *Wines of America*, 282.

REVIEWS

Charles Wollenberg, *Reviews Editor*

Pictorial Resources: The Henry E. Huntington Library's California and American West Collections

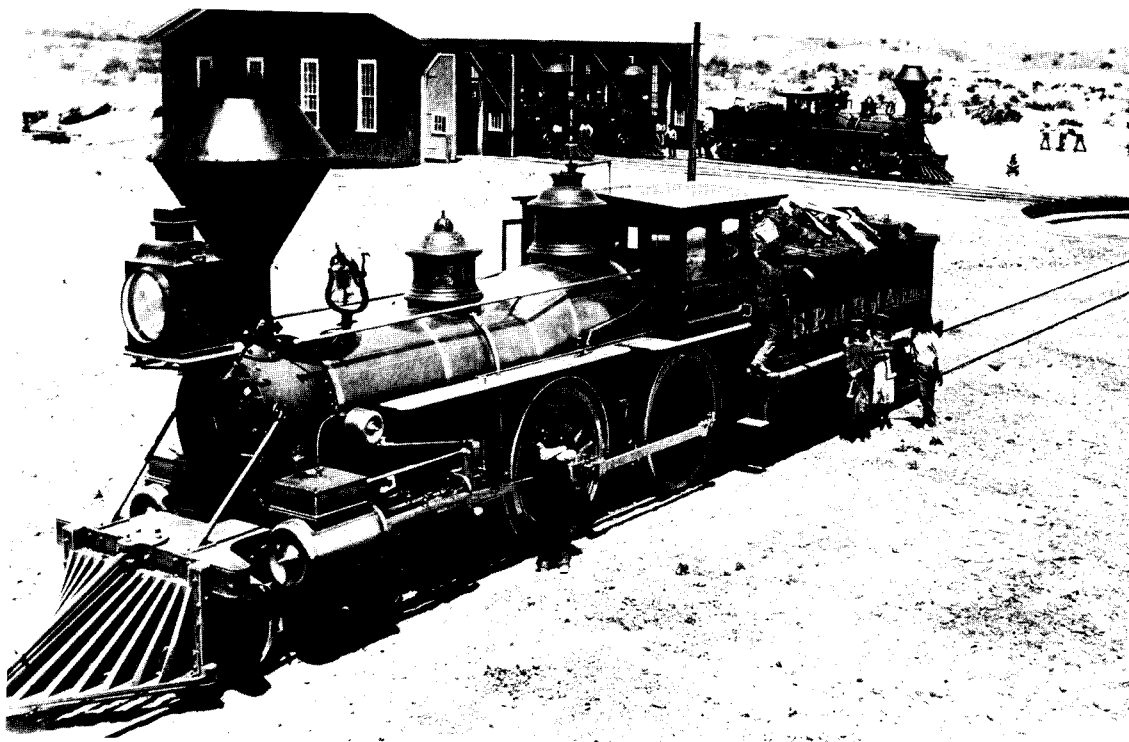
GARY F. KURUTZ, *director of the CHS Library and former curator of historical photographs at the Huntington Library, San Marino.*

An institution that displays Thomas Gainsborough's *The Blue Boy* and houses an E. A. Burbank portrait of Geronimo bespeaks of great diversity. The Henry E. Huntington Library in San Marino, noted for its splendid collection of English portraits and landscapes, also possesses a surprisingly fine array of photographs, prints, pencil sketches, and water colors depicting the American West. Ranging from original sketches by George Catlin to photographs by Edward Weston, the Huntington's pictorial archives offer scholars an unusually wide variety of mediums, topics, geographic areas, and time periods.

Since the library's inception, Mr. Huntington and his librarians collected western pictorial material as a complement to the library's famous collection of rare books and manuscripts. Recognition in recent years of the importance of western photography and art has revealed the depth and flexibility of the Huntington's resources. Drawings originally procured for their documentary value are simultaneously studied as works of art. Photographs once utilized only as illustrations for scholarly monographs are now studied because of their photographer. Books once acquired for their textual value are now reviewed for their original photographs. Thus the Huntington, in an almost incidental manner, has created a pictorial collection that in many ways matches the richness of its books and manuscripts.

The library's photograph collection is remarkably well-rounded, possessing prints made by nearly every major pioneer photographer including O'Sullivan, Hillers, Haynes, Savage, Gardner, Hart, Soule, Russell, Jackson, Barry, Taber, Muybridge, and Watkins. Topically, the collection contains subjects common to many photo libraries such as agriculture, architecture, business, industry, Indians, culture, transportation, significant events, and scientific exploration. Geographically, all the western states are covered, but, because of the library's location, a great percentage of its holdings center on Southern California. Of course, the collection embraces a sizeable portrait file. At a conservative estimate, the collection encompasses approximately 150,000 prints, negatives, and albums. Half-tones and other photo-mechanically produced prints are excluded from this file.

Qualified scholars gain access to the collection through an index or photo file, which is arranged by portraits, places, events, subjects, and in some cases by date and individual collection. Los Angeles, for example, is catalogued by street (Spring Street), place



This carefully composed 11" x 17" albumen print of the round house at Yuma (above) is considered to be one of pioneer photographer C. E. Watkins' finest photos.



From the F. I. Monsen Collection comes this dramatic sepia-toned view (left) of a driver urging his team of mules across the muddy Little Colorado River in Arizona in 1885.



Photographer Jack Hillers assembled this group (left) at the stone office of Creek Indian Chief Samuel Checato at Okmulgee, Oklahoma Territory. This is one of several Hillers photos in the Major G. W. Ingalls Collection.

(Sonora Town), event (Fiesta) and by date. Consultation with a staff member may turn up more than the photo file index reveals, and many of the most valuable items are housed in the rare book stacks.

A most valuable bibliographic aid is the seven-volume index to photographers compiled by Dr. Edwin H. Carpenter. Each image (when possible) is listed by its artist; the index is arranged by state and then alphabetically by name. Each entry includes approximate dates of the cameraman, studio location, and references to directories, books and articles.

As is well-known, a great many of the most spectacular views of the Trans-Mississippi West were made during the era of the post-Civil War exploration. The library has garnered several exquisite photo albums, books with original photos, and individual prints recording these heroic deeds of western exploration.

The Ferdinand V. Hayden Survey (1871-1872) delved the mysterious region of the Yellowstone, and for documentary purposes, William Henry Jackson accompanied the expedition as its official photographer. From this memorable trip, the library has a deluxe folio volume of thirty-seven handsomely mounted albumen prints entitled *Photographs of the Yellowstone National Park and Views in Montana and Wyoming Territories, 1873*. In addition to this, the Huntington recently acquired a fine selection of 128 8" x 10" Jackson landscape views of the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone, Geyser Basin, Old Faithful, the Grand Tetons, and Mesa Verde.

In many ways, the Colorado River presented the photographer with the ultimate challenge: to capture its grandeur while at the same time survive its awesome physical force. The Huntington has procured a substantial body of material recording the exploits of various expeditions from 1871 to 1940. The John Wesley Powell Expeditions of 1871 and 1872 were accompanied by photographers Jack Hillers, E. O. Beaman, and James Fennemore. Together, they took scores of popular stereoptican views which have been added to others in the photo file over the years. When Lieutenant George M. Wheeler ascended the Colorado, his expedition was visually documented by the cameras of Timothy O'Sullivan and William Bell. O'Sullivan, the accomplished Civil War photographer, secured the first photos of the Grand Canyon on this quixotic expedition. As part of the official reports of the survey, the library obtained a volume of 45 finely finished and elegantly mounted 8" x 11" views of Arizona, Nevada, and New Mexico by O'Sullivan and Bell entitled *Photographs Showing Landscapes, Geological and Other Features of Portions of the Western Territory of the United States . . . obtained in the season 1871, 1872, and 1873*. The Huntington contains other significant collections depicting the history of that wild river, as well.

Construction of the transcontinental railroad is documented by A. J. Russell's *The Great West Illustrated in a Series of Photographic Views Across the Continent*, taken along the line of the Union Pacific Railroad. This, of course, is well-known for its inclusion of original 9" x 12" albumen photographs by the railroad's official photographer. On the Central Pacific segment, A. A. Hart of Sacramento secured over three hundred stereoptican views of railroad construction. Of these "Scenes in the Sierra Nevada Mountains," the Huntington owns close to 280.

Industrial California is strongly represented in the collection, as well. The oil industry is best documented by the mammoth picture file of Ralph Arnold, an engineer and consulting geologist. The Arnold Collection consists of 55 albums (all captioned) and thousands of negatives showing the industry from 1911-1956 in the western United States and portions of South America.

Collecting Indian photographs has been a strong point at the Huntington. Nearly every major tribe is represented, including some outstanding pictures of villages, reservations, Indian wars, and notable tribal leaders. Areas of emphasis include the Mission

Indians of California, the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma, and the Indians of the Southwest.

The ethnographic record of Major G. W. Ingalls, an Indian agent, is the most comprehensive and significant collection. Ingalls, working among the Paiute and Five Civilized Tribes in the early 1870's, amassed an unusually fine collection of prints and wet-plate negatives. Photos of tribal leaders attired in black business suits, council meetings held in log cabins, and Indian children attending seminary schools graphically recorded the government's campaign to "civilize" the Indian. Many of the glass-plate negatives were made by the famed Powell expedition photographer, Jack Hillers, when he visited Ingalls in 1873 and 1875.

Another Indian agent, Major H. N. Rust of Pasadena, focused upon the Mission Indians of Southern California and the Hopis of Arizona in the 1890's. Noted as an avid collector of Indian artifacts and as a controversial agent, Rust compiled a pictorial record of the Indians under his jurisdiction. Among these were the Indians living at Temecula, Pala, Agua Caliente, Morongo, and Saboba. After retiring as agent, Rust, like many others, journeyed across the desert to study the mysterious Hopi Snake Dance. A. C. Vroman, the redoubtable amateur photographer, accompanied Rust on this 1895 trip and, as a result, the Rust albums contain many Vroman photos. A separate group of nineteen is inscribed on the verso with Vroman's original diary of that trip to the Hopi's mesa.

Capturing the vanishing life style of the American Indian inspired many turn-of-the-century photographers. Frederick I. Monsen and Carl Moon, whose collections are in the Huntington, were of that school. With this noble goal in mind, both Pasadena photographers plied their craft among the Indians of the Southwest. Monsen, a trained ethnologist, armed with two Kodaks, lived among the Hopi, Navajo, Zuni, Mojave, and Cocopah and recorded with admirable frankness their architecture, crafts, ceremonies, dances, and living habits between 1880 and 1890. Monsen presented the Huntington with 370 striking 11" x 17" signed sepia-toned prints made from his 4" x 5" negatives.

Carl Moon, on the other hand, concentrated on the Pueblo Indians of the Rio Grande Valley from 1900 to 1920. Under the employ of Fred Harvey, Moon, formerly a painter, photographed his subjects in a more romantic vein than Monsen. In 1924, Moon gave to Mr. Huntington 270 of his finest sepia-toned prints.

Like several other research institutions, the Huntington possesses a complete set of Edward S. Curtis' Indians of North America and several other important ethnographic collections.

Because of the library's location, a great many of its photos are of Los Angeles and its environs, and without doubt, the Huntington possesses the most comprehensive record of Southern California. Countless prints document the area from the "Cow County" era to Los Angeles' rise as the industrial and population center of the West.

The most important and heaviest used single body of photographs is the C. C. Pierce Collection. Setting out to record for posterity the changing face of his rapidly growing city, Pierce copied the historic photographs of his Los Angeles predecessors and contemporaries. He served local historians by consolidating into one compact collection over 10,000 8" x 10" glossy views of nearly every aspect of Southern California history from the 1850's to the 1930's. The collection is particularly valuable for its pictures of Los Angeles streets, suburbs, portraits, and local industries.

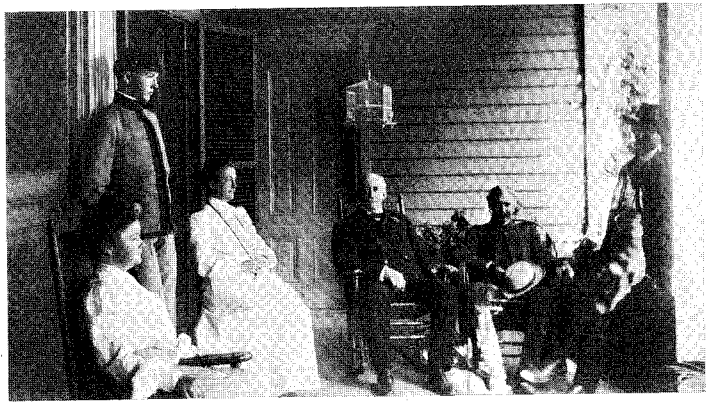
Pasadena and the San Gabriel Valley are well documented through the photographs obtained through the acquisition of various manuscript collections. The Bradford Jackson Collection (1900-1937) superbly covers the development of the San Gabriel Valley in the early twentieth century, including the communities of Pomona, Glendora,

Pasadena, La Canada, La Crescenta, and Glendale. The history of the San Gabriel Mountains is thoroughly documented by the negative and slide collection of Will Thrall, the editor of *Trials Magazine* and preserver of Angeles National Forest. Other collections of note are the Los Angeles Railway photos and albums, the Sunkist Orange Company photos, and the Charles F. Saunders pictures of Southern California and the Southwest.

Northern California is not neglected. Representative views are found in great numbers, and many of the photos were made by San Francisco's leading galleries, including Morse, Bradley and Rulofson, Taber, Shew, Lawrence and Houseworth, Muybridge, and Watkins. The library owns a splendid copy of Muybridge's panorama of San Francisco in 1877 along with several other more common panoramas showing the effects of the earthquake and fire.

Eadweard Muybridge and Carleton E. Watkins stand out as California's great pioneer photographers. The Huntington's holdings of Watkins' photos rank among the best.

The library's local history file includes this 1903 summertime portrait at the Wilson Home in Lake Vineyard (San Marino) with (from left) Susan Patton, (future general) George S. Patton, Jr., Ruth Wilson Patton, Henry E. Huntington, George S. Patton, and Hancock Banning.



Three Sac and Fox Indian women posed with their babies c. 1875 in Oklahoma Territory for Jack Hillers.





*On the plains preparing to feed,
(buffalo chips for fuel -)*

Joseph G. Bruff's pencil sketch (above) depicts a party cooking over a fire of buffalo chips while camped on the plains on their way to the California gold fields.



Draughtsman William R. Hutton's view of the Los Angeles plaza (above) in 1847 is regarded as the earliest known view of the city.

OPPOSITE: This striking pencil sketch of the Teton Sioux Begging Dance is one of many original works by famed western artist George Catlin now residing in the Huntington collections.

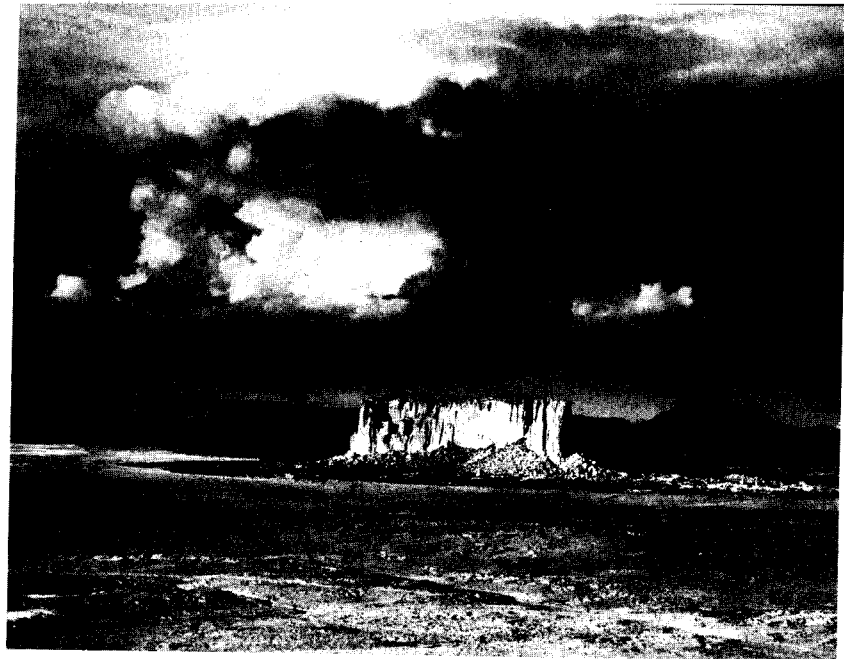
Of special note are four large folio albums of 16" x 20" landscapes entitled *Summit of the Sierras*, *Central Pacific Railroad and Views Adjacent*, *Kern County*, and *Arizona and Views Adjacent to the Southern Pacific Railroad*. (Speculation has it that these lavishly bound volumes were obtained as a result of Collis Huntington's lifelong friendship with the photographer.)

California's "grandeur and subtlety and sudden contrast" captured the imagination of Edward Weston, as well. Recipient of the first Guggenheim fellowship in photography, Weston travelled through California and the West with his 8" x 10" graflex view camera and recorded the land's most salient features. Later, Weston presented to various institutions copies of his best prints, and the Huntington received a selection of over 500 signed and dated views by this brilliant photographer. Requests for Weston exhibits are a continuous occurrence at the Huntington.

The Huntington, unlike other research institutions, has not actively collected western art. It does, however, have several noteworthy collections of pencil sketches and watercolors. Some of these drawings are found as illustrations to diaries, while others are tipped into books. Original drawings are divided between the Manuscript and Rare Book departments, and the respective catalogs of both departments must be checked.

Most noteworthy are the 320 sketches drawn by Joseph Goldsborough Bruff illustrating the hardships incurred while journeying from Council Bluffs to the gold fields of California in 1850. Many of these have been published in Georgia W. Read and Ruth Ganines (eds.) *Gold Rush* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944.) Of equal





A gold medal from the London Photo Salon was awarded to Monsen in 1912 for this Huntington Library photo of "Katzimo" or The Enchanted Mesa near Acoma pueblo in New Mexico.

significance are the 95 pencil sketches and watercolors of Alta and Baja California, 1847–1852, by the draughtsman, William R. Hutton. The views of Los Angeles are the earliest known of that city. Hutton's sketches are also important for their beautiful representations of the missions and rancheros at the time of the American Conquest. W. O. Waters published 56 of the Hutton drawings in *California 1847–1852* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1942). The sketchbooks of William Hayes Hilton include many handsome drawings of California, Arizona, Texas, and Mexico from 1858 to 1870. Carey S. Bliss published a selection of Hilton's work entitled *William Hayes Hilton. Sketches in the Southwest and Mexico, 1858–1877*. (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1963).

Western Army forts from 1870 to 1890 were the subjects of Colonel Joseph Girard's pencil and brush. This collection of 34 watercolors shows Forts Apache, Yuma, Fettermen, Sanders, D. A. Russell, Fred Steele and many others during the peak years of Indian conflict. Charles Hammond's sketchbook containing 56 views from 1867 to 1877 is significant for its superbly executed pencil drawings of San Francisco, Eureka, and the Sandwich Islands.

The American Indian is rendered by two significant collections. In 1954, the Huntington purchased a fine lot of 254 separate pencil drawings, paintings, counterproofs, and engravings of paintings by George Catlin. The majority of these were intended to illustrate an unpublished manuscript entitled the "North American Indians in the Middle Nineteenth Century (1868–1870)." From Edward Ayer Burbank, Henry Huntington obtained 1500 portraits of American Indians. These include 52 red chalk drawings of California Indians. Burbank, at Huntington's request, copied these from his original set in the Newberry Library.

As one would expect, the Huntington's holdings of letter sheets and birds-eye views are impressive. The Huntington's letter sheets collection consists of 180 pieces arranged by Baird number. Also, the library houses 190 birds-eye views of various California cities.

Importantly, this vast array of pictorial material has proven over the past several years to be a source of creative strength for scholars, students, businesses, and public media programs. Huntington pictures are readily made available for reproduction in worthy publications. Lastly, the pictorial treasures in the Huntington have contributed significantly to enhancing the institution's own programs of exhibits, publications and lectures.

Book Reviews

THE INDIAN HISTORY OF THE MODOC WAR. By Jeff C. Riddle (Eugene, Oregon: Urion Press, 1974. 295 pp. Illustrations. Paper \$3.95, cloth. \$6.95)

Reviewed by RICHARD DILLON, librarian of San Francisco's Sutro Library.

It is difficult, indeed, for a reviewer to be unkind to a new book when the blurb copy on its cover quotes his very own syllables! " 'Absolutely essential'—Richard Dillon"—how can you argue with yourself?

But a book which is essential as a research source to a working writer may or may not be all that necessary to a general reader of California history. Luckily, the words of yesteryear do not come a'haunting back. Jeff Riddle's book would be a bargain, especially at the trade paperback format (or so-called quality paperback) price, if only for the illustrations alone. There are ninety historic photos, some by Muybridge. And his is a fascinating story of surely the most unnecessary Indian war in California and Oregon history, if not in the entire chronicle of the U.S. of A.

Moreover, Riddle's book is as essential to any serious collection of California history, or American Indian history, as its descendant, my own wide-angle view of the conflict, *Burnt-Out Fires*, which profited from the advantages of documentation and perspective unavailable to Riddle in 1914. We should be grateful for the rescue of Riddle by the Urion Press of A. H. Rosenus.

Earlier, Urion republished Joaquin Miller's *Unwritten History: Life Among the Modocs*. This is a book deserving reissue though perhaps not a minor classic, as sometimes described. It is flawed, as history, by Miller's wild imagination and cavalier fibbing. It might more properly have been titled *Life Among the Shastas and Pit Rivers*. When the Modoc War came along in 1872, Miller doctored his manuscript to ride the coattails of the tragic Captain Jack to a kind of best-sellerdom.

Jeff Riddle's book is honest where Miller's is phoney, simple and naive where Joaquin's is poetic and prosy. The former wrote a good, but forgotten, book. It is much more than an historical relic, or a nostalgic curio in letterpress type. It is a very informative document.

Perhaps most important, it is a very early (1914) attempt to present the Indian side of a part of our history. Because Riddle was "an Indian," he did not get the hearing he deserved sixty years ago. Ironically, the more militant of pro-Indian readers today may not want to read him either, since he was a half-blood and not a "pure" Native American. And, probably because he belonged to both races, he felt himself caught in the middle. He could not identify completely with either side in the struggle, but placed praise and blame where it belonged in both camps.

There are flaws in this book, to be sure. Jeff Riddle was uneducated, his views sometimes simplistic, naive. And he was only a kid during the Modoc War. But he was as honest and fair as he knew how to be and generally reliable. Not only was he involved in the war, knowing the key participants on both sides personally; he was an eyewitness to some of the most important and dramatic incidents of the campaign.

Jeff was the son of the Modoc heroine of the war, Tobey Riddle, alias Wi-ne-ma, wife of white interpreter Frank Riddle. She was a woman of outstanding character, dignity, compassion, and courage. She was our Pocahontas, our Sacajawea. Yet she is virtually unknown beyond the Siskiyou country. This is not only because she was a woman. The other real heroes of the Modoc War including John Fairchild and Elijah Steele are even more neglected. The reason is that they were also peacemakers, and the

jingoists on both sides have been deemed more colorful and dramatic because they sought glory (*i.e.*, blood) rather than harmony and peace.

Jeff Riddle's account is as close as you can ever get to the war in the Lava Beds and what really went on in the heads of Captain Jack and Scar-faced Charlie, as well as General Canby. This book, not Miller's, is "a minor classic" of Californiana.

THE WATER SEEKERS. By Remi A. Nadeau. (Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1974. 278 pp. Illustrations. \$8.95.)

Reviewed by PAUL S. TAYLOR, *agricultural economist and historian.*

This book describes the twentieth-century search for water to enlarge the population of Los Angeles and Southern California. Nadeau's story, originally published in 1950, begins with the transfer of Owens Valley water through a 223-mile aqueduct, a move which displaced earlier plans for a federally financed reclamation project to develop Owens Valley. The clash of local and Los Angeles interests is told in detailed and human terms. Without public forum in which to plead for protection or recompense, local disaffection erupted in occasional dynamiting of the water conduit and gatherings of armed valley citizens to block construction.

The account begins with the desire of William Mulholland for engineering achievement and of Los Angeles businessmen for investment opportunity through development. The outcome in Owens Valley, according to Nadeau, was "neglected fields and empty farmhouses remaining on lands acquired by the city's purchasing agents." The epoch ended with the closing of Owens Valley banks and conviction of its leading bankers of felony; they used bank funds to support the valley's defense against inroads upon its water resources.

A second episode in the search for water ended in disaster to lives and property. In the early 1920's construction of a coast-range reservoir was proposed. Deterred by demands for an "extravagant price" for one site, Mulholland turned to an alternative reservoir site in San Francisquito Canyon. In 1929 the dam gave way in a disastrous flood. Investigators agreed that although the concrete in the dam was faultless, it had been erected on poor rock foundations. Accepting responsibility, Mulholland said, "Fasten it on me if there was any error of judgment—human judgment—I am that human."

The Colorado River was another objective in the search for water. Action by Los Angeles was preceded by private developers' decisions to divert river waters into Imperial Valley. Uncertain of their water rights under United States law, the developers cut the river bank on the Mexican side of the international boundary, creating a conflict of interests that survives to this day. Soon the river broke its silted bank in a disastrous flood that threatened to inundate the Imperial Valley. Heroic measures by the Southern Pacific Railroad closed the breach, bringing security to the valley temporarily. For the next two decades political pressures accumulated to build an All-American canal to check enlargement of Mexican rights to river waters and a Boulder Canyon dam to protect the Imperial Valley permanently, to generate power, and to impound water for Southern California.

As the search for water continued, it came into conflict with water interests as far away as the Feather and Eel rivers in Northern California, the Columbia, and even the Rio Grande. These other interests challenged the ambitions of Southern California and, together with aroused conservationists' concern over damming the Grand Canyon, they checked, at least temporarily, the ambitions of Arizona and California developers. In summing up, Nadeau reflects, "In the final analysis the water seekers will have to

abandon their quest because its justification is gone. They have been defeated by their own success. They brought in so much water for so many people that few cared anymore whether Los Angeles grew at all. No longer can the 'water for growth' argument have the old magic at the polls."

The author does not discuss the acute differences over the reclamation law's requirements of residency and acreage limitation. He writes in a vivid style which is easy on readers.

YERBA BUENA: LAND GRAB AND COMMUNITY RESISTANCE IN SAN FRANCISCO.
By Chester Hartman, *et al.* (San Francisco, Glide Publications, 1974. 233 pp.
Illustrations, index. Cloth \$8.95, paper \$4.95.)

Reviewed by FREDERICK M. WIRT, *director of the Policy Sciences Graduate Program
at the University of Maryland Baltimore County.*

The truly huge wealth of America has always been associated with the land, either with what is in it or on it. In this respect, California's history matches that of all the other states, although it is better known through being romanticized. Gold, silver, wheat, farm produce, citrus fruit, railroads—all those fabled sources of California's wealth—were mined, cultivated, or laid over the land.

Nor has this changed today, as Chester Hartman's study of land development in San Francisco clearly and painstakingly details with graphic typography. For in analyzing how this city undertook a massive urban redevelopment project, he documents the new politics of profit here—and in every major city. This power game assembles willing partners in a coalition of private and governmental interests. In the process, the partners benefit, but because there is no such thing as a free lunch, someone loses out. Until very recently, there was no one to notice and defend the losers.

Up to a point, this account could have been written of any redevelopment project anywhere in the nation, for it follows many of the findings of the broader critique of this program found in William Anderson's *The Federal Bulldozer*. There were the same commercial interests found elsewhere—hoteliers, restaurateurs, construction companies, bankers. In this case they wanted a high-rise complex of hotel, convention hall, and shops, called the Yerba Buena Center. They wanted it either because of the tourists who would be attracted or because of the profit on the concrete and steel its construction would entail. The local media wagged along behind this group, faithfully baying to all that a miracle was in the making. And the city officials, led by a series of energetic mayors, worked to align public authority behind this private venture.

Familiar also is what happened to those displaced by this multimillion dollar project. Promises were made to the sponsoring federal agency—HUD—about relocating these people—down-and-outers known to every city—and thereafter ignored. With much grumbling, many relocatees left for what they regarded as worse housing. Right behind them came the razing and earth movers until a section was leveled which all those behind the YBC assured one and all had been a "blighted" zone.

To this point, all is familiar, but something happened next which illustrates a potential reshaping of power in American communities, a process detectable in this and other local policies. A new coalition appeared on the scene, composed of disgruntled neighborhood citizens, poverty program lawyers, university researchers, and the federal judiciary. For this anti-cohort took to federal court the pro-cohort of YBC developers and in the event compelled the "power structure" to stop its evasion of federal law. The citizens hired lawyers, recruited expertise (financed by federal OEO funds), and went

through dreary rounds of litigation to secure adequate, relocated housing for some of them.

In the process, the redevelopment agency was discredited for its insensitivity to the law and human needs. Federal judges and City Hall became disenchanted with the once unquestioned goals and power of the agency. This decline was triggered by the "powerless" newly empowered by federal resources of law and expertise. But in the end, as is often the case in American politics, the result was a compromise. Both sides, while getting less than they needed, are now committed to completion of the Center.

Much is learned in the San Francisco story about the decision process of the new land politics: the enchantment of the redevelopment concept, public indifference to those hurt by it, the limits of litigation as a strategy. Hartman's call for a "unified political struggle [without which] lower income groups face a dismal future in our cities" is heart-warming, but his account offers more pessimism than hope about that future. Too, if his economic analysis is valid—and it is strongly supported—the moderate-income group also will suffer, if not leave the city.

The problem lies with clashing visions of the good life, for as Aristotle noted 2,500 years ago, "Men came to cities to live and stayed there to live well." Hartman, objective but not neutral, provides a modern look at that clash over what it means "to live well." It is an old conflict, too. San Franciscans, who like to think their past was different from their present, should know this dispute was born with their city. For in 1847, when it had only 30 houses, the first clash of these conflicting visions came over the first town survey. (See Geoffrey P. Mawn, "Framework for Destiny: San Francisco, 1847," *CHQ*, 1:165-78 (Summer, 1972).

MILLS AND MARKETS: A HISTORY OF THE PACIFIC COAST LUMBER INDUSTRY TO 1900. By Thomas R. Cox. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974. xx, 332 pp. Illustrations, index, appendices, selected bibliography. \$17.50.)

Reviewed by DOUGLAS F. DAVIS, editor, *Journal of Forest History*, Santa Cruz.

In *Mills and Markets* Thomas R. Cox has managed the rare feat of synthesizing a broadly varied and comprehensive base of source materials into a sweeping and important work on the Pacific Coast lumber trade, beginning with its eighteenth century origins in Hispanic California. Beautifully written, Cox's study is at once scholarly, lucid, and excitingly paced.

In 1776 the *San Antonio* sailed under Don Diego Choquet to Monterey to pick up a cargo of pit-sawn timbers for the missions of Alta California. By the early decades of the nineteenth century, hand logging operations developed in the redwood region of Monterey-Santa Cruz, resulting in cargo exports by Thomas O. Larkin, the first and only American consul in Alta California. Thus began the Pacific Coast lumber trade, and here, as throughout the book, Cox paints the major characters and their enterprises with a fine brush and an eye for detail, carefully and persistently tracing the relationship between production and marketing of timber products.

As the construction boom generated by the Gold Rush was followed by rapid development of cargo sawmills and sea transport, San Francisco became the dominant source of investment capital, a major market, and the center of lumber industry operations. When demand declined in coastal cities, mills with newly expanded production capacity aggressively sought markets in the Pacific Basin, often surviving through the business acumen of shrewd sailing captains who disposed of their cargoes. Cox's account of the export trade, of foreign markets and the conditions that shaped them is excellent.

Among the most important chapters in Cox's work are those on railroads and technological change. Inherent in the nature of lumbering, timber cutting proceeded ever farther from the mills, increasing the time and expense of getting logs from the woods. The arrival of steam locomotives in the woods, along with powerful, steam-driven cable hauling devices, displaced the slower, more troublesome use of oxen, mules, and horses. Improvements in steel cable and saws, new inventions and mechanization processes, and improved mill and vessel design combined to make production more efficient and more immediately responsive to market demands. The sections here and elsewhere on maritime cargo vessels, their design and construction, operation, and problems are clearly and fully developed. Cox clarifies the role of the transcontinental railroads with respect to the coastal lumber industry; quickly disposing of the facile assumption that rail access to midwestern and eastern markets would bring new prosperity to northwestern mills. The land grant disposal policy of the railroads is touched upon but is not dealt with adequately. In fact, in sharp contrast to the detailed explication of other financial and operational aspects of the Pacific Coast lumber trade, timberland acquisition receives little attention throughout the book.

In an overall sense Cox develops a vivid portrait of a fragmented and highly competitive industry constantly facing problems of overproduction and market instability. Industry attempts to cooperatively curtail production and stabilize prices failed, and Cox is intrigued by the contrasting successful centralization efforts in the petroleum, steel, and tobacco industries. The comparison, however, is not developed at length, and Cox dismisses the issue with a wave of the hand, explaining the failure of cooperative efforts among lumber companies as "... inherent to the industry. ..."

In sum, *Mills and Markets* presents a wealth of information within a structure of effective chapter organization. The index is thorough and useful, and the selected bibliography clearly indicates the depth and extent of research. Cox's excellent study is an important contribution to the history of the West.

THE KING'S HIGHWAY IN BAJA CALIFORNIA. By Harry Crosby. (Salt Lake City: Copley Books, 1974. 182 pp. Illustrations, maps. \$14.50.)

Reviewed by W. MICHAEL MATHES, *professor of history at the University of San Francisco.*

By the time of this writing, thousands of tourists will have travelled the length of the Baja California peninsula by automobile and enjoyed the asphalt surface of the new Transpeninsular Highway, but few persons in modern times have used the time-honored mode of transport used by Harry Crosby—the mule. From the founding of the first mission in the Californias by the Jesuits at Loreto in 1697 to the establishment of the last mission by the Dominicans in 1834 at Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Norte, the mule was the basic form of travel on the peninsula and the means by which missionaries, soldiers, and civilians traversed the Camino Real from Cabo San Lucas to San Diego.

Commissioned by the Copley Press to photograph for *The Call to California* the route used by Fray Junípero Serra, Gaspar de Portolá, and Fernando de Rivera y Moncada from Loreto to Alta California in 1769, Harry Crosby, in company with Paul Ganster and various *arrieros*, set out in 1967 to retrace the Royal Road of the missionaries which joined the peninsular missions. The adventures and reflections of this expedition from Loreto to San Fernando Velicatá are well told and illustrated in this new and informative book

Following a brief historical survey of Baja California from 1533 to 1769 and some basic information relative to its ethnography, *flora*, and *fauna*, the author begins his personal narrative of the trip from Loreto to San Javier, Comondú, La Purísima, and thence into the Sierra de Guadalupe. Interspersed with historical data, descriptions of the topography, difficulties of muleback travel, ranches and ranchers, plants, and historical sites make interesting and informative reading, for the reader soon begins to capture the flavor of back-country Baja California and the warmth of its inhabitants.

As Crosby penetrates the Sierra he notes the uniqueness of housing, equipment, and families while en route to San Ignacio. From that once important base for northward expansion, he proceeds through the Sierra de San Borja where he views and describes some extraordinary cave paintings, to Santa Gertrudis, San Francisco Borja, Calamajue, Santa María de los Angeles, and San Fernando Velicatá along the rugged but remarkably well preserved, rock-lined, wide road.

Excellent maps and photographs by the author accompany the text which is enhanced by descriptive quotations from Baegert, Gabb, Castillo Negrete, Bull, and other historical travellers. Crosby has done an excellent job of describing the people and places of interior Baja California, and he reflects a true understanding and love of them. His historical data is general but accurate, and his conclusions are sound. Fortunately, unlike many authors of popular books relative to the peninsula, Crosby correctly marks as absurd the search for alleged buried treasure at the missions and decries their wanton destruction by treasure seekers.

Leaving the Camino Real at San Fernando, the author followed the Serra trail through the Sierra San Pedro Mártir and sold his mules at the Meling Ranch. To those of us who have travelled the peninsula for years and, hopefully for those who have not, there is a sense of loss when this book ends, so well has the adventure been told. A valuable addition to Baja Californiana, *The King's Highway* combines history and personal narrative with interesting data and important maps.

GREENE & GREENE, ARCHITECTS IN THE RESIDENTIAL STYLE. By William R. and Karen Current. (Fort Worth, Texas: Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1974. 128 pp. Illustrations. \$15.00.)

A GREENE & GREENE GUIDE. By Janann Strand. (Pasadena: Castle Press, 1974. vii, 112 pp. Illustrations. \$8.00.)

BUILDING WITH NATURE: ROOTS OF THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY REGION TRADITION. By Leslie Mandelson Freudenheim and Elizabeth Sacks Sussman. (Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1974. iv, 112 pp. Illustrations. \$12.95.)

Reviewed by ELINOR RICHEY, *author of* The Ultimate Victorians of the Continental Side of San Francisco Bay (1970); Remain to be Seen: Historic California Houses Open to the Public (1973); *and of a book of historical biographies tentatively titled* Pathbreaking Women *scheduled for publication this fall.*

Nature recently zephyred back into vogue. Periodically, we return to the comforting primitive mood, a security blanket in anxious times. Today's loom-weavers, thickets of house plants, hammocks, and Granola are one in spirit with yesteryear's mania for handcrafted furniture, loose-flowing garments, grape diets, and *al fresco* living rooms. Because nature generally is equated with the old, rarely do these symbolic returns to the forest inspire something new. Even more rarely is the inspiration lasting.

These three books deal with the architectural expression of the last popular return to nature in those years surrounding the turn of the century. Specifically, they assess the expressions of two California communities in which evolved a dwelling so livable as to change the course of American domestic architecture. The communities were Pasadena and Berkeley, and the architectural style they spun out of the nature craze—for natural materials, fresh air, freedom of movement, casual life styles, and indoor intimacy with outdoors—was, of course, the bungalow. The chunky unpretentious style also owed a thing or two to the missions and to Swiss and Japanese construction, and it borrowed its name from the English army barracks of India. But the dwelling that radiated the appeal of a wholesome country girl was indubitably Californian. During the teens and twenties the bungalow became ubiquitous across the land and later provided the basic elements of succeeding styles.

In Pasadena, the chief innovators were the Greenes, Charles and Henry, to whom the Currents' book is an exciting introduction. To the bungalow the brothers brought a genius for design, a reverence for wood, and a rich architectural vocabulary. The Currents' excellent photographs and sensitive description let us pleasurably experience these charming houses and their lovingly-detailed interiors. But our guides are objective: we learn that the houses were dimly lit and that by designing the furniture and landscapes as well, the architects may have dominated their clients instead of freeing them. The knowledgeable text expertly places the Greenes' work in the context of world architectural movements.

The Strand book is more scrapbook than guidebook. Mainly it comprises sketches and blueprints of several-dozen Greene houses, together with comments culled from other sources, mostly contemporaneous observations that tend to be prolix and repetitious. Of value, however, is a comprehensive list of extant Greene houses and their locations.

In Berkeley the numerous elements and influences were coordinated to fit a different terrain, the bay-watching hillsides. Berkeley bungalows were less boxy and more rustic. They were also more varied, created by half-dozen gifted architects of whom Bernard Maybeck was the most influential. The Freudenheim-Sussman collaboration, which deals with this body of work, probably over-emphasizes the contribution of Joseph Worcester, while slighting Julia Morgan. Their informative text is marred somewhat by a piety of tone and excessive peripheral detail. The photographs are splendid.

Berkeley's version of the bungalow has proved the most lasting, having evolved with minor changes into the delightful Bay Region Style that today hides among the leaves of the coastal hills. But its Pasadena cousin contributed more to the average American dwelling, such as the suburban ranch house. As some wag has said, the ranch house is a bungalow pulled out like taffy and bent.

California Check List

JAY WILLIAR, *Reference librarian*

The purpose of this list is to provide our readers with an on-going bibliography of recently published or soon-to-be-published Californiana. Major publishing firms' nationally-distributed products, small local history groups' limited editions, and individuals' efforts all are welcome. We ask only that the books or booklets concern the California scene and be recent publications (1974 or later, although some reprints will be accepted as space permits and significance demands).

We particularly desire to list publications which would not be well advertised elsewhere, works more likely to be publicized by word-of-mouth than by an organized publicity campaign. Hence, we are dependent to a considerable degree on the response of our readers. If you know of a recent unlisted publication on California, please notify the compiler of this check list. Be sure to include the following basic bibliographic data: author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, and price. If the item is a limited edition published by an individual or small group, include the address where the book can be purchased and any special ordering instructions. Send this information to Jay Williar, Reference Librarian, California Historical Society, 2090 Jackson St., San Francisco, CA 94109. This listing in the *Quarterly* is, of course, free of charge.

- ABAG. *Conserve—Toward Community Strategies for Conserving . . .* Berkeley: Association of Bay Area Governments, 1975. \$2.50. Publisher, Hotel Claremont, Berkeley, CA 94705.
- Alcatraz: *A Visual Essay*. San Francisco: Cameron and Co., [1974] 96 pp. Illustrations.
- Avakian, Anne M., Compiler. *Armenia and the Armenians in Academic Dissertations*. Berkeley: Professional Press, Inc. [c1974] 38 pp. Compiler, 2727 Parker Street, Berkeley, CA 94904.
- Bates, Mrs. D. B. *Incidents on Land and Water*. New York: Arno Press. 1974. 363 pp. Illustrations.
- Braasch, Barbara. *Sunset Guide to Southern California*. Menlo Park: Lane Pub. Co., 1974. 160 pp. Illustrations. \$2.95.
- Bradley, Glenn D. *The Story of the Pony Express*. Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1913, republished 1974. 175 pp. \$9.50. Publisher, Book Tower, Detroit, MI 48226.
- Brant, Michelle. *Timeless Walks in San Francisco, a Historical Walking Guide . . .* Richmond: Lompa Press, 1975. 75 pp. \$3.35. Author, P.O. Box 68, Pt. Richmond, CA 94807.
- California, Legislature. Joint Committee on Legal Equality. *Women in the Justice System*. Los Angeles: Author, 1974. \$4.00. 286 pp. Author, Sacramento, CA.
- California Department of Water Resources. *The California Water Plan*. Sacramento: California Department of Water Resources. Free. Author, P.O. Box 388, Sacramento, CA 95802.
- California State Land Commission. *Draft Inventory of Unconveyed State School Lands and Tide and Submerged Lands . . .* [Sacramento] Author, 1975. Unpaged. Maps. Author, 1807 13th Street, Sacramento, CA 95814.
- Cameron, Robert. *Alcatraz*. San Francisco: Cameron and Co., 1974. 96 pp. Illustrations.
- Cardona, Nicholas de. *Geographic and Hydrographic Descriptions of Many Northern Lands and Seas in the Indies*. Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1974. 112 pp. Illustrations. \$18.00. Publisher, 535 North Larchmont Blvd. Los Angeles, CA 90004.
- Chaput, Donald. *Francois X. Aubry*. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1974. 250 pp. Illustrations. \$15.50. Publisher, P.O. Box 230, Glendale, CA 91209.
- Chase, John. *The Sidewalk Companion to Santa Cruz Architecture*. [Santa Cruz: Santa Cruz Historical Society, 1975.] 250 pp. Illustrations. Maps. \$6.45. Publisher, P.O. Box 246, Santa Cruz, CA 95061.
- Clark, Walter Van Tilburg. *The Journals of Alfred Doten: 1849-1903*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1975. \$60.00. 3 vols., 2400 pages.
- Duke, Alton. *When the Colorado River Quit the Ocean*. Yuma, Arizona: Southwest Printers, 1974. 122 pp. Illustrations. \$7.00.
- Elder, Jeane. *Walnut Creek Learns the Alphabet (From Settlement to Suburbia . . .)*. Alamo: Holmgangers Press, 1974. 144 pp. \$3.50. Publisher, 22 Ardith Lane, Alamo, CA 94507.
- Evans, Paul. *Art Pottery of the United States*. New York: Charles Scribners Sons. 1974.

- Fradkin, Philip L. *California the Golden Coast*. New York: Viking Press, 1974. 110 pp. Illustrations.
- Frost: *Centennial Essays*. Jackson, Miss.: University Press of Mississippi, 1974. 624 pp. \$17.50. Publisher, 3825 Ridgewood Road, Jackson, Miss. 39211.
- Gillett, Paul and Peter. *Imperial Valley's Lost Gold*. Yuma, Ariz.: Southwest Printers, 1974. \$1.50. Publisher, 2035 Arizona Avenue, Yuma, AZ 85364.
- Graham, Ron, John A. Kopec, and C. Kenneth Moore. *A Study of the Colt Single Action Army Revolver*. La Puente: A Study of the Single Action, 1974. 500 pp. Illustrations. \$34.95. Publisher, P.O. Box 218, La Puente, CA 91747.
- Grant, Campbell. *Rock Art of Baja California*. Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1974. 146 pp. Illustrations, maps, portrait. \$24.00. Publisher, 535 North Larchmont, Los Angeles, CA 90004.
- Gudde, Erwin C. *California Gold Camps*. Berkeley: University of California Press [1975?]. 578 pp. Illustrations. \$17.50.
- Heckrotte, Warren. *The Discovery of Humboldt Bay: A New Look at an Old Story*. Amsterdam: The Society for History of Discoveries. Author, 1663 Trestle Glen Road, Oakland, CA 94610.
- Heiser, Robert F. *Elizabethan California*. Ramona: Ballena Press, 1975. \$3.50. 101 pp. Figures. Publisher, Box 711, Ramona, CA 92065.
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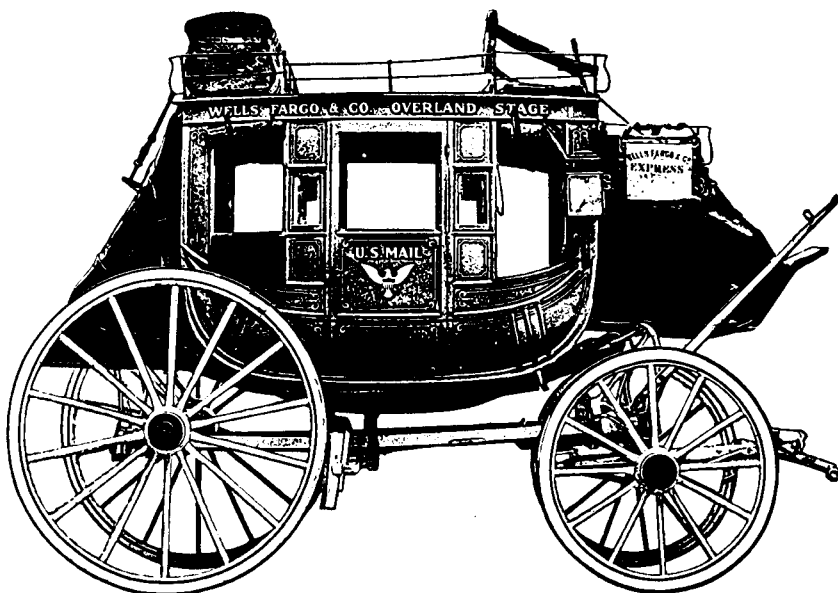
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